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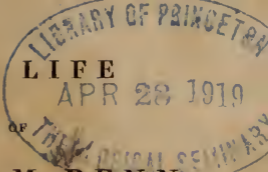
Draper, B. H.

The life of William Penn





Misses' class. Today with the Indians



THE LIFE

APR 28 1919

OF  
WILLIAM PENN;

TO WHICH IS ADDED HIS

REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS,

RELATING TO THE

CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE.

BY

BOURNE HALL DRAPER.

" Good Men are all of a church, and every

" one knows who must be at the head of it."

Maxims.

LONDON :

WILLIAM DARTON AND SON,

HOLBORN HILL.



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THE LIFE  
OF  
WILLIAM PENN.



WILLIAM PENN was descended from an ancient family, which, for several centuries, had resided at the village of Penn in Buckinghamshire. His father was Admiral Sir William Penn; he married Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam. Their son, William, was born in London, in the parish of St. Catherine, October 14th, 1644.

He received the first rudiments of his education at Chigwell in Essex. Here, according to his own account, while alone in his chamber, being only eleven years of age, he was suddenly surprised with such a sense of the divine glory, that he had the strongest conviction of the being of a God,

and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communion with him.

When twelve years of age, his father kept a private tutor for him in his own house; and at fifteen he was entered a gentleman commoner at Christ Church, Oxford. Here he became acquainted with the admirable John Locke.

The religious impressions which he had received in so extraordinary a manner at Chigwell, were never erased from his memory, or heart. Whilst a student at Oxford, they were considerably strengthened by the preaching of Thomas Loe, a leading adherent of the Society of Friends. With some other young men, who had imbibed the same religious sentiments, he was accustomed to meet for divine worship; which gave great offence to the dean of the college; and they were all fined for their non-conformity to the established church.

His father was much displeased with him on account of the peculiar views of divine truth which he had embraced; for he had begun to change his habits, and to withdraw from the fashionable world, in which he had moved. The Admiral thought his son's prospects in life were utterly ruined; and as he could not prevail on him to

alter his course, he absolutely turned him out of doors.

His mother, however, a most amiable woman, interceded for him, and he was forgiven. But his father, wishing to correct his too great plainness of manners, determined to send him to the continent for a season. He hoped that the gaiety of life, so universal in France, might alter the increasing gravity of his mind; he accordingly went to Paris. An anecdote is recorded of him whilst here, which is very honourable to his principles and feelings. Being attacked one evening in the street, by a person who drew his sword on him, he wrenched the weapon out of his hand, but spared the life of his antagonist, when he was evidently left dependent on his mercy.

At Saumur he pursued his studies under Amyrault, a celebrated Protestant divine. Whilst at Turin, on his way to Italy, a letter reached him from his father, intreating him to come home, and take charge of the family, as he was about to command the fleet against Holland. And on the return of William to England in 1664, that he might gain an acquaintance with the laws of his own country, he became a student at Lincoln's Inn; which

he quitted, when the plague raged in London, in 1665.

The Admiral was pleased that his son, as he hoped would be the case, brought with him from the continent, manners less serious than those which he had taken with him from home. Still he was far too grave to give him unmingled pleasure. He, accordingly, sent him to visit the court of the Duke of Ormond, who was one of his friends, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Every thing which he saw there confirmed him in the truth of his religious sentiments, and in his determination to lead a serious life. "He considered the court," says Clarkson, "with its pomp and vanity, its parade and ceremonies, as a direct nursery for vice; and as to its routine of pleasures, it became to him only a routine of disgust."

His father now determined to give him the management of his estates in Ireland, thinking that as he would be far from his English connexions, and have much business on his hands, that he would grow more indifferent to his religious views. Here he managed things most entirely to the satisfaction of his kind father. Whilst, however, on a visit at Cork, he again heard



Thomas Loe, on the faith which overcomes the world, and on the faith which the world overcomes; the discourse was exceedingly suitable to his circumstances, and he determined from that hour to unite himself to the Society of Friends. He soon found that the path he had chosen was one of self-denial and loss; for in 1667, he was arrested with many others, for being at public worship, and committed to prison: but was soon released by an order from the Duke of Ormond.

As he had now decidedly chosen the people with whom he intended to act, his father was greatly alarmed and offended. He sent for him to return immediately from Ireland. "And here," says his first biographer, "my pen is diffident of its ability to describe the most pathetic and moving contest which took place between his father and him; his father actuated by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare; his father, grieved to see the well-accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back upon it; he, no less afflicted to think a compliance with his earthly father's pleasure was inconsistent

with his obedience to his heavenly one; his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience; his father, earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit, to behold his father's concern and trouble; his father threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein; his father turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God, for strength to support him in that time of trial."

The Admiral now despaired, as he well might, of altering the opinions of his son. He made him acquainted with this circumstance; and told him that he would be satisfied, if he would only consent to sit with his hat off in his presence, and when in company with the King, and the Duke of York. He found himself compelled by his principles to inform his father, that he could not accede to his wishes. This he did with much affection and respect; yet his father was exceedingly displeased, and once more shut him out of the paternal habitation.

That he had so greatly pained his father, however innocently, was a subject of much grief to him. His mind was supported on this trying occasion, by the belief, that they who left homes and parents for the sake of the kingdom of God, should by no means lose their reward. His mother kept up a private communication with him, and did much to supply his wants out of her own purse.

In 1668, being then twenty-four years of age, he became a preacher among the Friends; at this same period, he published his "Truth Exalted;" and shortly afterwards, "The Sandy Foundation shaken." This last volume greatly displeased the Bishop of London, and its author was sent to the Tower. Here he was treated with great severity, and was so closely confined, that no one of his friends was allowed to have access to him. It was told him, that the Bishop had resolved, that he should either recant or die in prison. In his reply to this prelate he nobly said, "that he would weary out the malice of his enemies by his patience; that great and good things were seldom obtained without loss and hardships; that the man who would reap and not labour, must faint with the wind, and perish in disappointments; and

that his prison should be his grave, before he would renounce his just opinions; for that he owed his conscience to no man."

Whilst he was in this confinement he produced his admirable work, entitled, "No Cross, no Crown," which in his life passed through several editions, and through many since. "The great work and business of the cross," says he, in this treatise, "is self-denial; of this Christ was the great example. True worship is only from a heart prepared by God's holy Spirit, without which the soul of man is dead, and incapable of glorifying him.—Pride leads people to an excessive value of their persons; it seeks distinction by decorations, the very cost of which would feed the poor; but it becomes the beautiful to endeavour to make their souls like their bodies; it makes distinction by blood and family; but God made all out of one blood, and one family; there is no true nobility but in virtue.—Avarice is a capital lust. It has a desire of unlawful things. It has an unlawful desire of lawful things. It is treacherous and oppressive. It marked the false prophet, and is a reproach to religion. Luxury is another capital lust. This is a great enemy to the cross of Christ.

It consists in voluptuous or excessive diet, which injures both mind and body; in gorgeous and excessive apparel, to the loss of innocence; and in excess of recreations, contrary to the practice of good men of old, whose chief recreation was to serve God, to do good to mankind, and to follow honest vocations. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, stately furniture, costly cookery, balls, masks, music-meetings, plays, and romances, were not the 'many tribulations' through which men were to enter into the kingdom of God." These, with many other sentiments, he illustrates at large in this work.

He wrote an excellent letter to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, by whose warrant he had been committed to the Tower; the following is a brief extract from this document: "I am at a loss to imagine, how a diversity of religious opinions can affect the safety of the state, seeing that kingdoms and commonwealths have lived under the balance of divers parties. I conceive, that they only are unfit for political society, who maintain principles subversive of industry, fidelity, justice, and obedience; but to say, that men must form their faith of things proper to another world,

according to the prescriptions of other mortal men in this; and, if they do not, that they have no right to be at liberty, or to live in this, is both ridiculous and dangerous. The understanding can never be convinced by other arguments than what are suitable to its own nature. Force may make hypocrites, but can make no converts; and if I am at any time convinced, I will pay the honour of it to truth, and not to base and timorous hypocrisy."

He then desires, since many of his enemies had retracted their opinions about him; and as his imprisonment was against the privileges of an Englishman, as well as against true Christianity, that he may receive his discharge. He makes, he says, no apology for his letter, which was the usual style of suppliants; because he conceives, that more honour will accrue to Lord Arlington by being just, than advantage to himself as an individual, by becoming personally free.

As he had been misunderstood on the doctrine of the Persons in the Godhead, as though he intended to deny the divinity of Christ, he referred his opponents to passages in his writings, in which in very express terms he acknowledges that important truth.

After being in the Tower for seven months, he was all on a sudden liberated by an order of the King, through the intercession of the Duke of York. It has been supposed, that his father applied to the Duke on the occasion.

Immediately on his liberation from prison, he was called to bid a last farewell to his greatly esteemed friend and teacher, Thomas Loe. That excellent individual thus addressed him,—“Bear thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way that shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore.”

His father now again admitted him to his house, but did not see him. Through his mother he caused an intimation to be given him, that he wished to employ him on a commission to Ireland; this gave him great joy, and he accordingly prepared without delay for his journey. Whilst he did not neglect his father's business, he found leisure to attend to the concerns of his own reli-

gious society. As occasion offered, he preached at Cork and Dublin; and attended the national meeting at the latter place. He especially visited all his poor brethren whom he found in prison for conscience sake. He administered to them relief and consolation. He addressed the Lord Lieutenant on their behalf; and, at length, procured an order in council for their liberation.

On his return to England an entire reconciliation took place between him and his father, to the great satisfaction of all his friends,—more especially that of his excellent mother: and he again found a residence in his father's house.

In 1670 was passed the famous, or rather infamous Conventicle Act, which entirely prohibited men from worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences, under sore penalties. "This act," as one very justly remarked, "brake down, and overran the bounds set for the defence and security of the lives, liberties, and properties of Englishmen; abolishing trial by jury; instead thereof, directing and authorizing justices of the peace, and that too privately, to convict, fine, and by their warrants distrain upon offenders against it, directly contrary to the Great Charter." This



iniquitous act was first suggested by some of the Bishops.

William Penn was one of its first victims. Going, as usual, with others of his own religious society, to their meeting-house in Gracechurch Street, for divine worship, they found it surrounded by a company of soldiers. As they could not enter it, a large company of people were soon assembled around the door, and William Penn stood up to address them; he, and William Mead, were then seized by warrants from the Lord Mayor, according to a plan previously arranged by the persecutors, and committed to Newgate. They were soon indicted for preaching to "an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly." When brought into court, they were immediately fined by the Recorder forty marks each, for not uncovering their heads. The behaviour of William Penn on the occasion was above all praise. "We are so far," said he, "from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to

divert us from reverencing and adoring our God who made us."

The following conversation took place in the court on this memorable occasion;—

*Recorder.* "The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment?"

*W. Penn.* "The question is not, whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal? It is too general and imperfect an answer to say it is the common law, unless we know where and what it is; for where there is no law there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all."

*Rec.* "You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the court what law is? It is law not written, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment?"

*W. Penn.* "Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common; but if the Lord Coke in his Institutes be of any consideration, he tells us, that common law is common right, and that common right is the Great Charter privileges confirmed."

*Rec.* "Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not to the honour of the court to suffer you to go on."

*W. Penn.* "I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me, though the rights and privileges of every Englishman are concerned in it."

*Rec.* "If I should suffer you to ask questions till to morrow morning, you would be never the wiser."

*W. Penn.* "That would be according as the answers are."

*Rec.* "Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night."

*W. Penn.* "I design no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you say I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your arbitrary designs."

*Rec.* "Take him away. My lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to night."

*Mayor.* "Take him away; take him away. Turn him into the bale-dock."

*W. Penn.* "These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away, because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon the consciences of you, who are of the jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and which are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensibly maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back? certainly, our liberties are to be openly invaded; our wives to be ravished; our children enslaved; our families ruined; and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar, and malicious informer; as their trophies, but our forfeits for conscience sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter."

*Rec.* "Be silent there."

*W. Penn.* "I am not to be silent in a case in which I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but ten thousand families besides."

As they were now hurrying him away, raising

his voice, he exclaimed aloud, " I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in endeavouring to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners. I say, it is directly opposite to, and destructive of the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke on the chapter of Magna Charta speaks."

The verdict of the jury was, " Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street." As if there were any guilt in this. The jury were brow-beaten, and sent back. When they returned again, they delivered a written verdict into court,—signed by all their names ; still it was, " Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street !"

The magistrates were now more than ever enraged : and the recorder addressed the jury as follows, " Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict such as the court will accept ; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, and tobacco ; you shall not think thus to abuse the court ; we will have a verdict by the help of God ; or you shall starve for it." Penn, on hearing this address, said, " My jury, who are my judges,

ought not to be thus menaced; their verdict should be free and not compelled; the bench ought to wait on them, and not to forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict." Turning more directly to the jury, he said, "You are Englishmen. Mind your privilege. Give not away your right."

The next morning, which was Sunday, the jury returned the same verdict as before; when the magistrates became outrageous, and assailed them in the most vulgar and brutal language. Several times they were sent back, and as often returned with the old verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch Street!"

Among other things, the Recorder observed, "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England."

At length, after the jury had received no refreshment for two days and two nights, they were again called in; and the court demanded a positive

answer to this question, "Guilty, or not guilty?" The foreman replied, "Not guilty!" Then the Recorder observed, "Gentlemen of the jury, I am sorry you have followed your own judgments, rather than the good advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands! But for this the court fines you forty marks a man; and imprisonment till paid."

*W. Penn.* "I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury."

*Mayor.* No. You are in for your fines."

*W. Penn.* "Fines for what?"

*Mayor.* "For contempt of court."

*W. Penn.* "I ask, if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined or amerced, but by the judgment of his peers, or jury; since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapters of the Great Charter of England, which say, "No freeman shall be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage?"

*Rec.* "Take him away."

*W. Penn.* "I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but you cry, 'Take him away!' But it is no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition

has so great a place in the Recorder's heart. God, who is just, will judge you for all these things."

The prisoners, with every one of the jurymen, were all sent to Newgate. William Penn's father paid the fines so iniquitously imposed on his son, and his fellow prisoner, and they were accordingly liberated. We know not how long these noble-minded jurymen were immured in prison. It is a subject of congratulation, that in the present day, no one even dares to plead for penal laws in matters of religion.

The Admiral was now very ill, and rapidly approaching the close of life. The conversation, and kind offices of his son were peculiarly acceptable to him. They had much pleasant and profitable communion together. In a moment of devout reflection, a little before he expired, he said to his son,—“William, I am weary of the world! I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God. The thought of this has followed me to this day. O have a care of sin! It is that which is the sting both of life and death. Three things I com-



mend to you. First, Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience. I charge you, do nothing against your conscience ; so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably ; for that gives security and dispatch. Thirdly, Be not troubled at disappointments ; for if they may be recovered, do it ; if they cannot, trouble is then vain. If you could not have helped it, be content ; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence ; for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world."

Looking earnestly at his son in his last moments, he said, " William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother. Live all in love. Shun all manner of evil. I pray God to bless you all : and he will bless you all." These were some of his last expressions.

By the death of his father, he now came into the possession of an estate of about fifteen hundred a year; which, with his frugal habits, not only made him independent, but even rich.

He devoted his leisure, soon after this solemn providence, to writing a full account of his late mock trial; which he justly regarded as a duty that he owed not only to his friends, but to his countrymen in general.

He retired, when he had taken a preaching excursion to Oxford, to the family mansion in Buckinghamshire. Here, as he and his friends had often been strangely supposed to favour the Roman Catholic system, he wrote his "Caveat against Popery." His enemies, without the shadow of reason, had frequently, no doubt to serve their base purposes, affirmed, that he was a concealed Jesuit. In this publication, he proved in a very satisfactory manner, that the Friends were among the most decided Protestants. It is observable, that in this book, he did not forget very particularly to plead for entire liberty of conscience; affirming, that he was a friend to universal toleration, and a decided enemy to all persecution.

Returning to London, in 1671, he was soon

subjected to new suffering. When preaching in a meeting-house belonging to the Friends, a military guard pulled him from the desk on which he stood, and consigned him again to the Tower. When brought before Sir J. Robinson, the lieutenant of the Tower, by whose order he had been seized, he pleaded the illegality of the proceedings so powerfully, that he could not but have been liberated, had not his persecutors had recourse, as they were accustomed, to the most palpable oppression. Robinson tendered to him the oath of allegiance; which, as offered to the Friends, was very unnecessary, to say the least; because, if their principles would not suffer them to bear arms conscientiously against the enemies of the country, much less could they do so against their sovereign. The refusal to take this oath subjected W. Penn to imprisonment. "Do you yet," said Sir J. Robinson, "refuse to swear?"

*W. Penn.* "Yes, and that upon better grounds than those for which thou wouldst have me swear, if thou wilt please to hear me."

*Rob.* "I am sorry you should put me upon this severity; it is no pleasant work to me."

*W. Penn.* "These are but words; it is manifest,

that this is a prepense malice; thou hast several times laid the meetings for me, and this day particularly."

*Rob.* "No; I profess I could not tell you would be there."

*W. Penn.* "Thy own corporal told me you had intelligence at the Tower, that I would be at Wheler Street to-day, almost as soon as I knew it myself. It is disingenuous and partial. I never gave thee occasion for such unkindness."

*Rob.* "I knew no such thing; but if I had, I confess I should have sent for you."

*W. Penn.* "That might have been spared, I do heartily believe it."

*Rob.* "I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman; all the world must allow you, and do allow you that; and you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people."

*W. Penn.* "I confess, I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are more honestly simple."

*Rob.* "I wish you wiser."

*W. Penn.* "And I wish thee better."

*Rob.* "You have been as bad as other folks."

*W. Penn.* "When, and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face."

*Rob.* "Abroad and at home too."

Here Sir John Shelden interfered, crying out, "No, no, Sir John; that's too much." And *W. Penn* indignantly exclaimed, "I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me, with having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who from a child implanted in me a hatred towards them. Thy words shall be thy burden; and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

After much more conversation, Robinson sentenced him to Newgate for six months. "And is this all?" said the injured sufferer, "Thou well knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me. I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interests. This is not the way to compass

your ends. I would have thee, and all men know, that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it. Thy religion persecutes, and mine forgives. I desire God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing you everlasting salvation." How does such a man rise in moral grandeur and dignity, far above all his vexatious and cruel persecutors!

But though in prison, he was not idle. He well knew the value of time, and how it ought to be improved for the glory of God, and the good of man. He, therefore, wrote an Address to the House of Parliament, powerfully pleading for entire liberty of conscience. He addressed two letters to the Sheriffs of London, calling their attention to the state of the prisons. He also published a most excellent work, entitled "The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience debated and defended." The following are a few sentences from this book, adduced as a brief specimen of its general spirit and worth. Addressing the supreme authorities, he says, "The cause of this appeal is, to solicit a conversion of that power to our relief,

which hitherto has been employed to our depression; that after this large experience of our innocency, and long since expired apprenticeship of cruel sufferings, you will be pleased to cancel all our bonds, and give us a possession of that freedom to which we are entitled by birth-right as Englishmen.

“This has been often promised us, and we as earnestly have expected the performance; but to this time we labour under the unspeakable pressure of filthy prisons, and daily confiscation of our goods, to the apparent ruin of entire families.

“It is the infelicity of governors to see and hear by the eyes and ears of other men; and which is equally unhappy for the people. And we are bold to say, that suppositions and mere conjectures have been the best measures that most have taken of us and of our principles; for, whilst there have been none more inoffensive, we have been marked for capital offenders.

“Could we obtain the favour of a conference, we doubt not to evince a clear consistency of our life and doctrine to the English Government; and that an indulgence of Dissenters in the sense requested, is not only most christian and rational,

but prudent also; and the contrary, however plausibly insinuated, the most injurious to the peace, and destructive of that discreet balance, which the best and wisest states have ever carefully observed.

“But if this fair and equal offer find not a place with you on which to rest its foot, much less that it should bring us back the olive branch of toleration, we heartily embrace and bless the Providence of God; and, in his strength, resolve by patience to outweary persecution; and by our constant sufferings seek to obtain a victory more glorious than any our adversaries can achieve by all their cruelties.”

He maintained, that no external, coercive power could convince the understanding; that fines and imprisonments could not be judged fit and adequate penalties for faults purely intellectual; that the enactment of laws to restrain persons from the free exercise of their consciences in matters of religion, was but the knotting of whipcord on the part of the enactors to lash their own posterity, whom they could never promise to be conformed for ages to come to a national religion, that they who imposed fetters upon the conscience, claimed



infallibility, which all Protestants rejected; that they usurped the divine prerogative, assuming the judgment of the great tribunal; that they overthrew the Christian religion in the very nature of it, for it was spiritual, and not of this world; that they opposed the plainest testimonies of divine writ; that they waged war against the privileges of nature, by exalting themselves, and enslaving their fellow creatures; that they acted contrary to all true notions of government; first, as to the nature of it, which was justice; Secondly, as to the execution of it, which was prudence; and thirdly, as to the end of it, which was happiness.

After his six months imprisonment, he was liberated, and took a tour on the continent. On his return in 1672, he married Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir W. Springett, of Darling in Sussex. Her father had fallen at the siege of Bamber, in the service of the Parliament. She was as remarkable for the beauty of her person, as for the sweetness of her disposition. They took up their abode at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire.

Charles II, in 1671, published a declaration of liberty of conscience in matters of religion, which, for a season, sheltered the Non-conformists from

the malice of their persecutors. In 1674, the Parliament considering this declaration of the King, as an undue extension of his prerogative, obliged him to revoke it. This was a signal for the enemies of all true religion, again to shew their malice against its supporters. Bigotted magistrates again put the old persecuting enactments into force. W. Penn wrote several able tracts on the occasion. In one of them he said, "There can be no reason to persecute any man in this world, about any thing that belongs to the next. Who art thou, says the holy Scripture in this case, that judgest another man's servant? He must stand or fall to his master, the great God. Let the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest. To call fire from Heaven was no part of Christ's religion. His sword is spiritual, like his kingdom. Be pleased to remember, that faith is the gift of God, and what is not of faith is sin."

As the evil of persecution began to spread farther, he addressed a letter to the King on the subject; but it was of no avail. Fines were levied without warrants, and locks and bolts were broken in pieces. Goods twice the value of the fines, were seized and taken; and not a few

peaceable and unoffending persons, were again immured in prison. Parents and children were separated. Cattle were driven away; the cow of the widow, or the fatherless, was not spared. Corn stacks were seized, thrashed out, and sold. "Household goods were distrained, so that even a stool was not left in some cases to sit on; and the very milk boiling on the fire for the family, was thrown to the dogs, in order to obtain the skillet as a prize. These enormities sometimes took place on suspicion only that persons had preached, or attended a conventicle; and to such lengths were they carried, that even some of those who went only to visit and sit by their sick relations, were adjudged to be a company met to pray in defiance of the law." W. Penn now published, and the work was certainly very seasonable, "England's present Interest, considered with honour to the Prince, and safety to the People." In this treatise he said, that Englishmen had three birth-rights. The first consisted in ownership and undisturbed possession of property, and liberty of person from the violence of arbitrary power; the second was, in the voting of every law that was made whereby that ownership in liberty and property might be

maintained; the third, he said was, in having an influence upon, and a great share in, the judicatory power, so that they were not to be condemned but by the votes of freemen. To live honestly, to do no injury to another, and to give every man his due, was sufficient he justly remarked, to entitle every native to English privileges. Whether the ground of a man's religious dissent be rational or not, severity is unjustifiable; for the maxim is a just one, that whoever is in the wrong, the persecutor cannot be in the right.

The outrages of the persecutors still continuing, he printed a small book entitled, "The Cry of the Oppressed for Justice." In this volume he merely narrates some of the atrocities which were committed daily under the semblance of justice, hoping that the bare recital of them would excite attention, and do good. The following are cases selected from this performance. "Four persons were sent to prison for attending a meeting in Leicestershire, from whom goods of various kinds were seized to the amount of two hundred and thirty-six pounds; their very bed-clothes, and working tools being taken from them. In Nottinghamshire, James Nevil, a justice, took from J. Samsun, nineteen

head of beasts, and goods to the value of sixty pounds. In the county of Norfolk, John Patteson had two hundred sheep taken from him, and W. Barber, cows, carts, a plough, a pair of harrows, and hay, to the amount of fifty pounds. Barber's house had been rifled before ten times, and he was then a prisoner. W. Brazier, shoemaker, at Cambridge, was fined twenty pounds for holding a religious meeting in his house. The officers took his leather, last, the seat he worked upon, wearing clothes, bed, and bedding. F. Pawlett, a magistrate of Somersetshire, fined thirty-two persons for being at a burial, and seized cows, corn, and other goods, to the amount of eighty-two pounds, and upwards. As no one would buy the cattle, the justice employed a creature of his to buy them for himself." There are many such instances of cruelty and oppression detailed in the same work.

In 1675, he held a public controversy at Rickmansworth, with the celebrated Richard Baxter. The particulars of this dispute are not recorded. It began at ten in the morning, and lasted till five in the afternoon. The disputants, in turn, addressed two rooms thronged with people of almost all

ranks in society. It appears, that Mr. Baxter used many hard terms on the occasion ; since there is a letter of W. Penn's in which he says, " he forgives him his hard words, and his many severities."

In 1676, John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, having purchased one-half of New Jersey in North America, from Lord Berkeley, a dispute arose between them, the settlement of which was submitted to the arbitration of W. Penn. After he had taken much pains and trouble, an amicable adjustment took place, and Fenwick, with his family and friends, departed to find a home in the western part of the world. Byllinge, unable to meet the demands of his creditors, agreed to deliver up, to trust, his newly-acquired property in Jersey for their benefit. He fixed on W. Penn as one of the trustees. The land being divided into one hundred lots, they assigned ten of these to Fenwick, as a repayment for time, trouble, and money advanced to Lord Berkeley. The other ninety lots were kept for the creditors of Byllinge.

W. Penn was now called to the discharge of a most important duty ; the formation of a constitution for the new settlers of this new colony. He

drew up what he denominated, concessions, or terms of agreement, which were to be signed by all the purchasers of land. The outline of his plan may be given in few words. "The people were to meet annually, to choose one honest man for each proprietary. They who were so chosen were to sit in assembly. They were there to make, alter, and repeal laws. They were also to choose a governor, with twelve assistants, who were to execute the laws, but only during their pleasure. Every man was to be capable both of choosing and being chosen. No man was to be arrested, imprisoned, or condemned in his estate or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood. No man was to be imprisoned for debt; but his estate was to satisfy his creditors as far as it would go, and then he was to be set at liberty to work again for himself and family. No man was to be interrupted or molested on account of the exercise of his religion." Happy would it have been for every state, if the people had been governed by such wise and salutary regulations.

In 1677, he left Rickmansworth as a residence, for Worminghurst in Sussex. He here devoted his time very much to the interests of the Jersey

colony. A large portion of the land was soon sold, and several vessels, laden with settlers and goods, sailed for America.

About this time he received the following letter from Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, to whom he had previously written, having heard that deep impressions of a religious nature had been made upon her mind. "This, my friend, will inform you, that both your letters were acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues, which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples is not so much as a cup of cold water. It affords them no refreshment. Neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the Duchess of L. as I expressed at the same time to B. Furley. But as R. Barclay desired I would write, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man may reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in your affectionate friend,  
ELIZABETH."

W. Penn, soon after the receipt of this letter, left England for a journey on the continent. At



Rotterdam, he tells us, they had two meetings; the Gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living comforted. Leaving Holland, after much preaching, and religious conference, he soon arrived at Herwerden, where the Princess held her court; with whom the Countess of Hornes resided as a companion. The morning after their arrival, R. Barclay and W. Penn waited on the Princess, by her own appointment, at seven o'clock. They were received with expressions of extraordinary kindness. They held a religious meeting, which did not break up till eleven. In the afternoon they held another meeting for worship, which did not end till seven in the evening. The third day they assembled again for worship, when many of the inhabitants of the town were present. "This meeting," says W. Penn, "began with a weighty exercise and travail in prayer, that God would glorify his name on that day;" and this appears to have been the case; for the influence of the Holy Spirit seems to have been mighty, both upon the preachers and hearers. The Princess was so overcome, that when she went to take leave of W. Penn after the meeting, she could scarcely find utterance for her words.

R. Barclay returned to Amsterdam; but W. Penn continued his journey to Cassel; here many kindly received him; especially one "Duræus, a person of seventy-seven years of age, who had forsaken his learning and school divinity for the teachings of the Holy Spirit." From hence he journeyed to several of the principle towns in Germany and Holland.

Before he left the continent he went to pay another visit to Herwerden. Here he found the Governor of Donau; they soon entered upon religious discussion; and both agreed, "that self-denial, and mortification, and victory therein, were the duty, and therefore ought to be the endeavour of every true Christian." On this occasion W. Penn gave the Governor some account of his own history, and made many remarks on the necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit on the heart. As he knew it was a final leave which he was about to take of this interesting spot, he was much affected. Falling on his knees, imploring the divine blessing on the Princess, he bade her farewell.

He and his friend J. Claus took their places in the post waggon; as there were many passengers, they were very uncomfortable for want of room,

and did not lie down or sleep for three nights. Most of their fellow travellers, as evening approached, sang several of Luther's psalms and hymns; this was their usual custom; and looked as if they were a religious people; but W. Penn having observed that their conversation was generally light and vain, he seized an opportunity of telling them, "that to be full of levity, and profane talk one hour, and to sing psalms to God the next, was deceit, and an abomination."

Having heard, that at the village of Wonderwick, there resided a nobleman of serious and retired habits, W. Penn and G. Fox went to pay him a visit. They were very kindly received. Having given them an affecting account of his own religious experience, he introduced them to his wife and family. W. Penn delivered a discourse on the occasion, which was exceedingly impressive, at the close of which he felt constrained to kneel down and pray. "Great brokenness of heart," says he, "fell upon all, and that grace which was before the world began, was richly manifested in and among us." The nobleman and his wife blessed them; and said they considered their house as blessed for their sakes.

At Brill they went on board the packet for England. The weather was entirely against them; and the vessel was so leaky that they were in the most imminent danger. At length, after having been two days and three nights out at sea, they landed at Harwich. From thence he proceeded on horseback to London, preaching at several places on his way. He stayed, for the same purpose, for several days in the metropolis; and then journeyed to his seat in Sussex, where he safely arrived, after an absence of three months and ten days, and after an excursion of nearly three thousand miles. On the afternoon of his return home, he assembled his whole family for worship, especially offering thanksgiving to the God of all their mercies.

In 1678, he petitioned parliament, that the word of a member of the Society of Friends, might be regarded as equivalent to an oath, provided, that if any one should be found to give a false testimony, he should be liable to the same punishment as the person who took a false oath. On account of this petition he was admitted to a hearing before a Committee of the House of Commons, when he addressed the gentlemen who composed it in the following manner:—

“ If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us, and this to every sober and private enquirer, certainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so great an authority, what is not our hope; especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing; and when we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists, without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings, for so must every man needs be who suffers mutely under another character than that which truly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse which I have received above any other of my profession; for a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary of Rome, and in pay from the Pope; a man dedicating my endeavours to the interests and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealots

for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us, and decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves, to prosecute us as a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, that, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks and common whipping-stock of the kingdom: all laws have been let loose upon us; as if the design were not to reform but to destroy us; and this not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard, that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration. But mark; I would not be mistaken, I am far from thinking it fit, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists, that Papists should be whipped for their consciences. No; for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lighted heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they should come in our room, for we must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve

ourselves; for we have good will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand. And I humbly take leave to add, that those methods against persons so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the reason of mankind; but this I submit to your consideration. To conclude; I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that (the Roman Catholic) profession in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with design to expose them, but, first, to pay that regard we owe to the enquiry of this Committee, and, in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin which now attend and threaten many hundreds of families, by the execution of laws, which, we humbly conceive, were never made against us.

“The candid hearing our sufferings have received from you, and the fair and easy entertainment you have given us, oblige me to add whatever can increase your satisfaction about us; I hope you do not believe I would tell you a lie. I am sure I should choose an ill time and place to tell it in; but I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are some here who have known me

formerly. I believe they will say I was never that man. and it would be hard if, after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down in my retirement short of common truth.

“Excuse the length of my introduction; it is for this I make it, I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study. For years, reading, travel, and observation, made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment. My alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and, till you know me better, I hope your charity will call it rather my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the Society I now adhere to have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the See of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you



that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church; and upon occasions shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too: and therefore, it is we think hard, that though we deny, in common with her, those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against, (from whence the name Protestants) yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny. We choose no suffering; for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves a useful people; we are sure we are a peaceable people: yet, if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish Recusants, but as Protestant Dissenters.

“But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, namely, that we are enemies to government in general, and particularly dissatisfied with that which we live under. I think it not amiss, but

very reasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, and this I do with good conscience, in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe government to be God's ordinance; and next that this present government is established by the providence of God, and the law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its just laws; and wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all cases not to revile or conspire against the Government, but with christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us and wait the better information of those who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any people, or how any Government can be easier from the subject of it.

“I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill that this house hath put us upon this discrimination; that, on the contrary, we value it, as we ought to do, a high favor; and cannot choose but see and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein, that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burden we have not with more

patience than injustice suffered too many years under. And I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds for the justice and civility of this opportunity; and so I pray God direct you."

In 1679, he published his "Address to Protestants." The following admirable sentiments, with many others of a similar description, are to be found in this work. "We must do violence to our understandings, if we can think that the men who hate their brethren, and shed one another's blood, can be true followers of that Jesus, who loved his enemies, and who gave his blood for the world. Whenever Cæsar meddles with what does not belong to him, he confounds his own things with the things of God. Thus he confounds divine worship with civil obedience, and the church with the state. Such a conduct is pernicious. It weakens Cæsar's own state, because it irritates so many of his subjects against him. It is contrary to the universal goodness of God, whom Cæsar ought to imitate; and who is seen dispensing his sun, light, air, and showers to all. It bars up heaven against all farther illumination; for, let God send what light he pleases, Cæsar's people

cannot receive it without Cæsar's licence. It tends to stifle and punish sincerity. It leads directly to Atheism, because it extinguishes the sense of conscience for worldly ends."—"Christ gave his church power to bind and to loose, but not to bind with fetters. He orders obdurate offenders belonging to it to be treated as the heathen, but said nothing of fines, whips, stocks, and imprisonment. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty; but where jails, pillories, and chains are, there can be none."—Truly, the writer of these fine sentiments was not only a great, but also a good and a wise man.

Though his father had been dead some years, his affairs with the government were still unsettled. The Admiral had advanced, at different times, considerable sums for the naval service; his pay also was greatly in arrears. As much as sixteen thousand pounds were due to him. As there was little hope of getting any money from Charles II, whose profligacy spent all he could lay his hands on; W. Penn, therefore, petitioned, that lands might be assigned him in America, to the amount of his claim. The reason of this application was with the hope of doing extensive

good. "Finding," says one, "his friends were harrassed all over England by Spiritual Courts, as they are strangely miscalled, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and thus conduct them to a place where they would be no longer subjected to suffering on account of their religion." W. Penn tells us himself, that his motive was, "To serve God's truth, and people." Subsequent events proved abundantly that this was the case.

In 1681, East New Jersey was offered for sale by the will of Sir George Carteret. W. Penn was the purchaser; but he associated some other gentlemen with him in the concern. He now projected a new town on the lands which remained unoccupied. He proposed offers of land on advantageous terms, which were willingly accepted, especially by many of the people of Scotland.

His petition relative to the country on the Delaware, met with much opposition, chiefly because he did not belong to the established church. At length he succeeded, and a charter, with ample powers for the government and settlement of the new colony, was assigned him. His own account of the matter presents him to posterity in a very

amiable point of view. "After many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, the country was this day confirmed to me under the great seal of England, by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the king gave it in honour of my father." He designed to have had it called New Wales, but the Under Secretary of State, who was a Welshman, supposing his country would be degraded by it, vehemently opposed it. He then proposed Sylvania, because it was a woodland district. He told the Under Secretary, that he would give him twenty guineas if he would get the country named according to his wishes. At last, he went to the king to get the name of Penn obliterated, but the monarch desired that it might be called Pennsylvania, from the respect which he cherished to the memory of his father: to which, of course, he was obliged to submit.

He now drew up an account of his new province in America, and published it with a copy of the Royal Charter. At the same time he offered a hundred acres of land for forty shillings, and a quit-rent of one shilling per annum to the proprietor for ever. He stipulated, that servants should have fifty acres of land, when the time of their

servitude expired. "I desire," said he in this document, "all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises; as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle but from a solid mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such at least to have the permission, if not the good-liking of their near relations, for that is both natural and a duty incumbent on all. And by this, both natural affection, and a friendly and profitable correspondence will be preserved between them, in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours, and then the consequence of our undertakings will turn to the glory of his name, and all true happiness be to us and our posterity."

One prominent feature in all his stipulations in America, was his great concern that the native Indians should be treated with justice and propriety. He enjoined, though it had been usual with planters to overreach them in various ways, "that whatever was sold them in consideration of

their furs, should be sold in the public market-place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad ; if good, to pass ; if not good, not to be sold for good ; that the said natives might neither be abused nor provoked ;—that no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law, as if he had committed it against his fellow planter ; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter should not be his own judge, but that he should make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his deputy, or some magistrate, who should, to the utmost of his power, interpose with the King of the said Indian, and procure all reasonable satisfaction. And that all differences between planters and Indians should be settled by twelve men, by six planters and six Indians, and that so they might live friendly together, and occasions of mischief be prevented.” This regard for the welfare of the native inhabitants of a country, was perfectly new ; as the Spaniards, and others, had generally treated them as so many brute animals, of whom they might dispose as they pleased ; and will justly endear the name and



character of W. Penn, to the remotest generations. This great and good man took especial care to assure the settlers, that he gave them that entire liberty of conscience which their own country denied them, and on behalf of which, he had written and suffered so much. "In reverence," says he, "to God, the father of light and spirits, the author, as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, I do, for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein, shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith, and exercise of worship toward God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God."

In a letter to a friend he farther, and in a very interesting manner, explains his own views. "I have been," says he, "these thirteen years, the servant of Truth, and of the Friends; and, for my testimony's sake, have lost much; not only the greatness and preferment of this world, but sixteen thousand pounds of my estate, which, had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtained. But I murmur not: the Lord is good to me; and the

interest his truth has given me with his people, may more than repair it; for many are drawn forth to be concerned with me; and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more the hand of God in it than a downright payment. This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary; and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

He sent out with the first ships Col. W. Markham, a relation of his, to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and to conclude with them a treaty of perpetual amity. Several commissioners also accompanied him; they were the bearers of the following letter, which was written with his own hand.—

"There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein; to whom you and I, and all people, owe their being and

well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

“This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein: but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the Great God do to us, who hath made us, not to destroy and devour one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble unto you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the Great God

angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing they shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come and see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the meantime I have sent my Commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them, and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good-will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“I am your loving Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

There is a letter which he this year wrote to Robert Vickris, which deserves to be preserved on account of its piety, simplicity, and beauty of expression. The son of this individual had joined the Friends; this circumstance did not produce any alienation of spirit in his father towards him, which procured him the ardent esteem of W. Penn.

“DEAR FRIEND,

“In my dear and heavenly farewell to the city of Bristol, thou wast often upon my spirit; and the wishes of my soul are, that the Lord would abundantly fill thee with the consolations of his Holy Spirit; and that the days thou hast to pass on this side of the grave, thou mayest be fitting for his coming, that comes as a thief in the night; that at what watch of the night soever it be, thou mayest awake with his likeness, and enter the rest that is eternal. So the Lord more and more gather thee out of every visible fading thing, and prepare thee for himself.

“Dear Friend, be faithful to that appearance of God, and manifestation of the love of the Lord to thy soul that visits thee. The Lord is near thee, with thee, and in thee, to enlighten, melt, and refresh thee. It is his presence, not seen or felt

by the wicked, that gathers and revives the soul that seeks him.

“So the Lord be with thee, and remember into thy bosom the sincere love thou hast shewn to thy son and his friends! I say no more, but in the Lord, farewell!

“Thy truly affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.”

About this time he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1682, his mother, for whom he had cherished the warmest affection, died. She had often pleaded for him with his father, and had supported him, when he had no other resource. He was much afflicted, for a season, at the remembrance of his loss.

But circumstances obliged him to direct his attention, without delay, to his American province. He now drew up a Constitution by which its affairs were to be regulated. This code of laws is remarkable for its simplicity and true wisdom. “Government,” says he, “seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end; for if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil. They weakly err,

who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it. Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion. There is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill-designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and, as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore, governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

“ I know some say, Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished, or invaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. That which makes a good

constitution, must keep it ; namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities which, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

“ With reverence towards God, and good conscience towards men, we have to the best of our skill, composed the laws of this country to the great end of government, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power ; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration : for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.”

Having done every thing in his power to secure his American territories, he now determined to visit them. Knowing the uncertainty of life, he addressed a farewell letter, with his last solemn advice to his wife and children. This admirable production, which cannot but be useful, by the divine blessing, is presented to the reader.



“My dear Wife and Children,

“My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen towards you, most endearingly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever: and may the God of my life, watch over you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to another a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

“My dear Wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my heart; the most beloved, as well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts; and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence’s making; and God’s image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

“First,—Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart ; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing, be committed : else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

“Secondly,—Be diligent in meetings for worship and business ; stir up thyself and others therein ; it is thy duty and thy place : and let meetings be kept once a day to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves : and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy unto thee, divide thy time, and be regular : it is easy and sweet : thy retirement will afford thee leisure to do it ; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order ; that by thy counsel, all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be : and grieve not thyself with careless servants ; they will disorder thee ; rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions : this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

“Thirdly,—Cast up thy income and see what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother’s example, when thy father’s public-spiritedness had worsted his estate, which is my case. I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more diligent therein, knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father’s, ‘I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;’ and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so, nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition; but I pray thee to be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arm’s end; for it is giving away our power, aye, and self too, into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove

a yoke too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and friends, be the pleasures of thy life.

“Fourthly,—And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord’s blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy, plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour, yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“Fifthly,—Next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is who hates or calls his brother, fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long, and allow them to

send and give each other small things to endear them one to another. Once more, I say, tell them it was my counsel that they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost ; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved : but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation, or idle mind ; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful part of mathematics, as building houses and ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation ; but agriculture is especially in my eye ; let my children be husbandmen and housewives ; these are callings industrious, healthy, honest and of good example ; like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable with the Princes of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them,

than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning; let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares for them both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding, I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not that they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there; a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion of a hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in the way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace, in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will

grow up with them. Teach a child the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not depart from it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience sake; be liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just, where no death shall separate us for ever!

“And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

“In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel, mentioned in the second of Jeremiah; and how did God bless Josiah because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear, and serve him who made you, and gave you to me, and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

“To do this in your youthful days, seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of this world; for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

“Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love, and cleave to that in your hearts which shews you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproveth you for it. It is the light of Christ which he has given you for his salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world and give you an inheritance in that which shall never end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it; and never leaves such till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! Hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes,



and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time, because the days are evil! You are now beginning to live. What would some give for your time! Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth. Therefore, love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that Society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

“ Next, be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; excellencies not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay, love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors; and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet

she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the most painful acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

“Next, betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example, and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or of those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant, and desirable unto you.

“And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any, ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

“ Let your industry and parsimony go no farther than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord give you any. I charge you help the poor and needy ; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others ; for we are all his creatures ; remembering that, ‘ he that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord.’

“ Know well your comings in, and your out-goings may be better regulated, love not money nor the world ; use them only, and they will serve you ; but if you love them, you serve them, which will debase your spirits, as well as offend the Lord.

“ Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to them ;—it may be your case ; and as you mete to others, God will mete to you again.

“ Be humble and gentle in your conversation ; of few words, I charge you ; but always penitent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade not impose.

“ Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that

are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your Heavenly Father.

“In making friends, consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports, nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

“Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniencies.

“Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise, their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter; and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them, you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, when asking the Lord, ‘Who shall abide in thy Tabernacle? Who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?’ Answer, ‘He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the vile person is contemned; but honoureth them who fear the Lord.’

“Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it

keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out of that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering 'life is more than food, and the body than raiment,' let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid avarice, and pride, and luxury. Read my 'No Cross, no Crown,' *There* is instruction.—Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God, and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

“Be no busy-bodies; meddle not with other folks' matters, but when in conscience and duty pressed; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

“In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and take them for your examples.

“Let the fear and service of the Living God be

encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things, as becometh God's chosen people ; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them, as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

“ And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania, and my parts of East Jersey,—especially, the first, I do charge you before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it ; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves, you would have the people live, and then you have the right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you : therefore, do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers, for gain or revenge ; use no

tricks ; fly to no devices to support, or cover injustice ; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

“ Oh ! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatsoever he pleases ; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and over-rules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, ‘ He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded.’ But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.

“ If you thus behave yourselves, and so become ‘ a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well,’ God, my God, will be with you, in imparting to you wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlement of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go, and you that stay ; you that govern, and you that are governed ; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

“ Finally, my children, love one another with a true, endeared love, and your dear relations on both

sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other; often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like the forgetting, unnatural world, grow out of kindred, and as cold as strangers; but become as a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours, may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

“So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and of the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the Prophets, the Apostles, and martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

“So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children.



“Yours, as God pleaseth, in that love which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

WILLIAM PENN.”

Warminghurst, 4th of 6th Month, 1682.

After taking an affectionate leave of his wife and children, he embarked at Deal, on board the ship “Welcome,” with about a hundred passengers. They had not been long at sea, before the small-pox broke out among them; by his personal attendance, and spiritual advice, he rendered the sick all the aid in his power. Thirty of the company died of this disorder.

“Within six weeks from his leaving the Downs, he was in sight of the American coast, and in the Delaware river. The settlers of every description received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

Having made a variety of salutary regulations, he determined to confirm his treaty with the Indians. He did not think his title to the land which had been ceded to him complete, till he had gained their consent. An immense number of them assem-

bled, who were seen in the woods as far as the eye could reach, they appeared formidable on account of their numbers and their arms. They met at Shackamaxon, beneath an elm tree of great magnitude. Under the widely spreading branches of this tree, the principal persons on both sides took their stand. William Penn was distinguished only by wearing a sky-blue sash around his waist, made of silk net-work. On a given signal, the Indians seated themselves in the form of a half-moon around their leaders. William Penn, then addressed them, through the medium of an interpreter, in the following manner ;—

“The Great Spirit,” he said, “who made him and them, who ruled the heavens and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to use hostile weapons, against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good-will, so that no advantage was to be

taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love." After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and conveyed to them the conditions of the purchase, and the words of the compact for their lasting union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits, even in the territory they had sold, for it was to be common to them and the English. If any disputes should arise, they should be settled by a jury of six English persons, and six Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents of European merchandize. They pledged themselves to live in love and peace with W. Penn, so long as the sun and moon should endure. Voltaire remarks, "This was the only treaty which was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken."

The friendship into which W. Penn had entered with the Indians was never interrupted for more than seventy years, during the whole of the time the Friends retained the power of government. "Indeed his conduct towards them was so engaging, and his justice so conspicuous, that he became very much endeared to them; and such a deep im-

pression of his benignity was made on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people.

The elm tree, under which this celebrated treaty was made, was held in much veneration. In the American war, when fire-wood was much wanted by the British army, General Simcoe placed a sentinel under it, that not a branch of it might be injured. When, at last, it was blown down by a tempest, it was transformed into cups, and other articles, to be kept as memorials to future generations.

Col. Markham had chosen a beautiful spot on which he was erecting a mansion for his noble relative. W. Penn went to view it, and gave it the name of *Pennsbury*. Afterwards he chose a spot for his new city, between the rivers *Skuykill* and *Delaware*. From the junction of these two great navigable rivers, he justly thought the situation exceedingly advantageous for commerce; and as there were immense quarries of stone in the neighbourhood, he regarded this circumstance of course, as affording great facilities for building.

The following is an extract from one of his letters

whilst he was engaged in these great works; "I bless the Lord, I am very well, and much satisfied with my place and portion; yet busy enough having much to do to please all, and yet to have an eye to those that are not here to please themselves.

"I am now casting the country into townships for large lots of land. I have held an assembly, in which many good laws have been passed. We could not stay safely till the spring for a government. I have annexed the Territories lately obtained to the Province, and passed a general naturalization for strangers, which has much pleased the people.

"As to outward things, we are satisfied; the land is good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are here white unto the harvest. O how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities of woeful Europe."

In the course of the year after the arrival of W. Penn, twenty-three vessels sailed from Great

Britain, with more than two thousand emigrants. The population of his colony now amounted to nearly six thousand persons. Those who came at the end of the year, were but ill provided for the winter; and suffered much from the insufficiency of their habitations to shelter them from the inclemency of the season. Their provisions were sometimes but scanty; yet the wild pigeons, which were in such great numbers, that the air was darkened by them, were of the greatest service to the settlers; the Indians also, did their utmost for their support, as ever since the Treaty, they regarded them as the children of William Penn, and as their brothers.

Hearing that his friends were still shamefully persecuted in England, he determined to return home to intercede with the court for their relief. He had made treaties of amity with nineteen different tribes of Indians; he had expended several thousand pounds to instruct, support, and oblige them; he had established twenty townships in his dominions; and he now made arrangements to visit his native land. He left Philadelphia in the eighth month of the year 1684, to the deep regret

of all classes of society; and landed in England, after a voyage of about seven weeks. His enemies, during his absence, had brought a variety of charges against him, but as there was no ground for them, they were readily refuted. One of these was, that he had given his sanction to some military proceedings; to which he replied, "That there was an old timber-house at Newcastle, standing upon a green, on which lay seven old iron small cannon, some on the ground, and others on broken carriages; but there was neither a military man, nor powder, nor bullet, belonging to them; and that they were the property of the government of New York." Another charge was, that he had made the settlement a matter of gain; to which he replied, "That he had hazarded his life, and maintained both the Government and the Governor for four years past. That he would have been a gainer if he had given the land. That he had bought ground on which a part of Philadelphia stood, of the Swedes, which had enabled him to add eight hundred acres to the city, and a mile on a navigable river; all which he had freely given to the public." Who can expect to escape slander and

calumny? This most upright and generous individual could not do it.

Charles II. died soon after the return of W. Penn, and his brother James II. quietly succeeded to the crown. The new monarch much respected W. Penn, not only from the esteem he cherished for his father, but also for his own sake. He was, therefore, often at the palace; though he was not a little reproached on this account, as a concealed Catholic and Jesuit; yet there is abundant reason to conclude that he employed all his influence with the king to do good, and especially for the benefit of the persecuted of his brethren, who were still shamefully suffering under the iron hand of oppression. He pleaded hard, as he had always done, for an entire toleration. "In our own time," said he, "we see the effects of a discreet indulgence, even to emulation. Holland has become the rival of the tallest monarchies, not by conquests, marriages, or accession of royal blood, the usual ways to empire, but by her own superlative clemency and industry; for the one was the effect of the other; she cherished her people, whatever were their opinions, as the reasonable stock



of the country, the heads and hands of her trade and wealth; and, making them easy in the main point, their consciences, she became great by them. This made her fill with people, and they filled her in return with riches and strength." He shewed by plain examples, that it is the union of interests, and not of opinions, that gives peace to kingdoms.

Soon after James came to the crown, he issued a proclamation for the liberation of those who were in prison for conscience sake. Not less than twelve-hundred persons of the Society of Friends alone, were restored to their homes and families, some of whom had been in confinement for years. There is reason to believe that William Penn's conferences with the king, were greatly instrumental in producing this beneficial result.

His government in America, soon fell into disorder after he left the country. Nor could he get his quit-rents remitted to him. These were of the value of five hundred pounds per annum; but not a farthing came to his hand: "God is my witness," says he, "I lie not; I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket, more than ever I saw by the pro-

vince; in addition to my pains, cares, and hazard of life, and leaving my family and friends to serve them." Indeed, he began to be embarrassed on account of the remittances being withheld from America. He mentioned this as one reason which kept him from Pennsylvania. "I will not," said he, "spend my private estate to discharge a public station."

In the summer of 1687, he took a preaching tour through several of the counties of England. The King happening to be at Chester at the same time, went to hear him preach. He also did so at several other places.

In consequence of his frequent visits to the King, he became exceedingly unpopular. The old cry, that he was a Roman Catholic, was raised against him, and very commonly believed. So that in the present year 1688, when the Prince of Orange had seized the helm of government, he was arrested, and brought before the Lords of the Council. In reply to some questions which they addressed to him, he protested, that he "had done nothing but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country, and the Protestant religion above his life, and had

never acted against either; that all he had ever aimed at in his public endeavours was no other than what the Prince himself had declared for; that King James had always been his friend, and his father's friend; and that in gratitude, he himself was the King's friend, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest." Though the Council had no evidence against him, they made him give security for his appearance the first day of the next term. He appeared accordingly, but as nothing was even surmised against him, he was discharged.

In 1689, the great measure, an act of Toleration, which he had been labouring and writing all his life to effect, became the law of the land. One of the Bishops then said, that, "it seemed to be suitable to the Christian religion, and to the interests of the nation. It was thought very unreasonable, that while we were complaining of the church of Rome, we should fall into such practices among ourselves." W. Penn had often asserted this, and much more to the same effect, and yet he could not be heard; though the liberty, treasure, and blood of thousands and of tens of thousands would then have been preserved.

He was never unmindful of his Colony in America. Though he was displeas'd with the differences of some of the principal friends whom he had left at the helm of affairs, yet he was warmly attached to their best interests. "Europe," says he, in a letter to them at this time, "looks like a sea of trouble. Wars are like to be all over it this summer. I strongly desire to see you before it is spent, if the Lord will; and I can say in his sight, that to improve my interest with King James, on behalf of tender consciences, and that a Christian liberty might be legally settled, though against my own interest, was that which has chiefly separated me from you. If it be with you, as I can say in the presence of God, it is with me, then are we one with him; for neither length of days, nor distance of place, nor all the many waters between us, can separate my heart and affection from you.

"And now, Friends, I have a word more for you; that faith, hope, and charity are the great helps and marks of real Christians; but above all love, is the love of God. Blessed are they who come to it, who hold the truth in it, and work and act in it; for they, though poor in their own, are

yet rich in God's Spirit; though they are meek, they inherit.

“This temper will preserve peace in the church, peace in the state, peace in families, peace in particular bosoms. I beseech God Almighty, to draw all your hearts into this heavenly love more and more, so that the fruit of it may appear increasingly to his glory and your comfort.”

The late King having written to him, and the letter being intercepted, he was summoned before the King and Council. Having been asked why the deposed monarch had written to him? he replied, “That it was impossible he could prevent his doing so; he supposed, that he wished to engage his interest for his restoration; but though he could not avoid the suspicion of aiding him in such an attempt, he could avoid the guilt of it.” He acknowledged that he had loved King James; and that as he had loved him in his prosperity, he could not hate him in his adversity. He said, that he felt it a duty to observe inviolably that regard for the State, which all its subjects ought to feel; and, therefore, that he never had the guilt even to think of endeavouring to restore to the fallen monarch the crown which he had lost.

The King was so convinced of his innocence, that he wished to dismiss him without farther trouble ; but some of the Council interposed, and he was ordered to give bail for his appearance the next term. He accordingly came forward at the time appointed, and was once more discharged. He had not been long at liberty, before he was again arrested, and committed to prison. Still, as there was no evidence which could substantiate any thing against him of an improper nature, he was set at large.

Just as he was on the eve of his departure for America, a wretch of the name of Fuller, whom the Parliament afterwards declared “ a cheat and impostor,” accused him, on oath, of treasonable practices, so that he was unable to leave the kingdom. A letter he wrote to one of his friends in his new Settlement, contains the following interesting passage. “ By this time thou wilt have heard of my troubles, the only hindrance of my return, being in the midst of my preparations, with a great company of adventurers, when they came upon me. The jealousies of some, and the unworthy dealings of others, have made way for them ; but under and over it all, the ancient Rock

has been my shelter and comfort; and I hope yet to see your faces with our ancient satisfaction. The Lord grant it, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be in all conditions; for this world passeth away, and the beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the princes of the earth.

“The wise God, who can do what he pleases, as well as see what is in man’s heart, is able to requite all; and I am persuaded all yet shall work together for good in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views God-ward in public matters. See that all be done prudently and humbly, and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety. God Almighty be with you, and amongst you, to his praise, and to your peace!”

A proclamation having been issued for his arrest, he now took a very private lodging in London, and lived in great retirement, that his health might not be sacrificed by his being immured in a prison. He had been here but little more than six weeks, when a second proclamation was issued for his apprehension. Almost all classes reproached

him. Even many of the Society of Friends thought very hardly of him. Mr. Locke visited him, and kindly offered to procure the pardon of King William. This he declined, as he said, that he had been guilty of no crime, and needed no pardon. In his retirement he wrote a preface to "Barclay's Apology," and endeavoured in various ways, to employ himself usefully.

In 1693, king William was induced, by evil advisers, to deprive him of the government of his lands in America. This was a most painful stroke to him. The fortune which he had expended seemed to be absolutely lost. His wife was exceedingly depressed by the trials and difficulties in which her husband was involved. He was the subject of great reproach, and a false accusation was hanging over his head, in consequence of which he might every hour expect to be arrested, and sent to prison. In these painful circumstances he could only look up to God for deliverance. He knew that none who put their trust in him were ultimately forsaken. In this time of trouble, he wrote his admirable little Book, entitled, "Reflections and Maxims relating to the conduct of Human Life." He also composed "An Essay on the Peace of Europe," in which he



proposed instead of war, a general Diet for the settlement of differences.

He was this year happily released from his retirement by the interposition of friends. "They represented his case to king William, not only as hard, but as oppressive. There was nothing, they said, against him, but what impostors, or such as had fled their country had advanced; or such as, when they had been pardoned for their crimes, they had refused to verify. They affirmed, that some of them had known him thirty years, and they had never known him do an ill thing; but, on the contrary, many good offices." King William candidly acknowledged, that he had nothing against him, and that he should be at perfect liberty.

This intelligence was, in the highest degree gratifying to his wife, whose case had now become hopeless. In about a month after the acquittal of her husband she expired with a hope full of immortality. The following are some of the excellent sentiments which dropped from her lips in her last illness:—

At one of the many meetings which her husband and her children held in her chamber, she said, "Let us all prepare, not knowing what hour

or watch the Lord cometh. I have cast my care upon the Lord. He is the physician of value. My expectation is wholly from him. He can cast down, and he can raise up."

She was but fifty years of age. A friend who was sixty-five coming to visit her, she said, "How much older has the Lord made me by this weakness than thou art! But I am contented. I do not murmur. I submit to his holy will."

When very weak she one day called the children, and said, "Don't be alarmed; I do not call you to take my leave of you, but to see you; and I would have you walk in the fear of the Lord, and with his people, in his holy truth."

About three hours before she expired, she said, "I have cast my care upon the Lord; my dear love to all Friends;" and, lifting up her dying hands and eyes, she prayed the Lord to preserve and bless them.

"She quietly expired in my arms," says Wm. Penn, "with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say, she was a public as well as a private loss; for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common

capacity, and greater modesty and humility : yet most equal, and undaunted in danger ; religious, without affectation ; an easy mistress, and good neighbour, especially to the poor ; neither lavish, nor penurious ; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues ; therefore, our great loss, though her eternal gain."

This year, 1694, he was restored by king William to the government of his American possessions, and in very handsome terms. About this time, Thomas Lloyd, whom he had left President of his Council in Pensylvania, died. He appears to have been a very upright and excellent individual. After an illness of six days, he expired with great tranquillity. His last words were, "I die in unity and love with all faithful Friends. I have fought a good fight. I have kept the faith, which stands not in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God. I have sought, not for strife and contention, but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of the Gospel. I lay down my head in peace, and desire you may all do so. Farewell."

In 1696, he again entered into the marriage state. His second wife was Hannah, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, an eminent merchant of the

city of Bristol. Only a few weeks elapsed, after this settlement before he lost his eldest son, Springett Penn. He appears to have been a most amiable youth, of great attainments. He was in the bloom of life, having just entered into the twenty first year of his age.

His father had regularly attended him in his affliction, for the three months previous to his marriage. He now resumed his most affectionate visitations. The young man had indeed been trained up in "the nurture and admonition of the Lord." This was very evident, as the power of religion was richly felt on his mind and heart.

The following narrative is selected from the interesting account which his father gives of this most lovely and promising young man. "My very dear child, and eldest son," says he, "did from his childhood manifest a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope, of a more than ordinary capacity; and time satisfied me in both these respects. For, besides, a good share of learning and mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it much above his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, that made him beloved, and consequently lamented; but

especially his humility, plainness, and truth ; with a tenderness and softness of nature, which, if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. But though these were no security against sickness and death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due preparation for them. For more than half a year before it pleased the Lord to visit him with weakness, he grew more retired, and much disengaged from youthful delights ; showing a remarkable tenderness at religious meetings, even when they were silent ; but when he saw himself doubtful as to his recovery, he turned his mind and meditations more apparently towards the Lord ; secretly, as also, when his attendants were in the room, praying often with great fervency to him, and uttering very many thankful expressions and praises to him, in a very deep and sensible manner. One day he said to us, ‘ I am resigned to what God pleaseth. He knows what is best. I would live, if it pleased him, that I might serve him ; but, O Lord, not my will, but thine be done ! ’

“ A person speaking to him of the things of this world, and what might please him when recovered, he answered, ‘ My eyes look another way, where the truest pleasure is.’ When he told me he had

rested well, and I said, it was a mercy to him, he quietly replied with a serious yet sweet look, 'All is mercy, dear father; every thing is mercy.' Another time, when I went to meeting, at my parting with him he said, 'Remember me, my dear father, before the Lord. Though I cannot go to meetings, yet I have many good meetings. The Lord comes in upon my spirit, I have heavenly meetings with him by myself.'

"Not many days before he died, the Lord appearing by his holy power upon his spirit, when alone, at my return, asking him how he did, he told me, 'O, I have had a sweet time, a blessed time! great enjoyments! The power of the Lord overcame my soul; a sweet time indeed!'

"And telling him, how some of the gentry, who had been to visit him, were gone to their games, and sports, and pleasures, and how little consideration the children of men had of God and of their latter end, and how much happier he was in this weakness to have been otherwise educated, and preserved from those temptations to vanity, he answered, 'It is all folly, my dear father: it is sad folly. O that I might live to tell them so'—well my dear child, I replied, let this be the time of thy

entering into secret covenant with God, that, if he raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy youth, strength, and life to him and his people and service. He returned, 'Father, that is not now to do, it is not now to do ;' with great tenderness upon his spirit.

"Being almost ever near him and doing any thing he wanted or desired, he broke out with much sense and love, 'My dear father, if I live, I will make thee amends;' and speaking to him of divine enjoyments, that the eye of man saw not, but the soul made alive by the spirit of Christ plainly felt, he, in a lively remembrance, cried out, 'O I had a sweet time yesterday by myself! The Lord hath preserved me unto this day. Blessed be his name! My soul praises him for his mercy. O father, it is of the goodness of the Lord that I am so well as I am.' Fixing his eyes, upon his sister, he took her by the hand saying, 'Poor Tishe, look to good things! Poor, child, there is no comfort without it? One drop of the love of God is worth more than all the world. I know it. I have tasted it. I have felt as much or more of the love of God in this weakness, than in all my life before.' At another time, as I stood by him, he looked upon me and said, 'Dear father, sit by me!

I love thy company, and I know thou lovest mine; and, if it be the Lord's will that we must part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.'

"Taking something one night in bed just before his going to rest, he sat up and frequently prayed thus; 'O Lord God! Thou whose Son said to his disciples, whatever you ask in my name you shall receive, I pray thee in his name bless me this night, and give me rest, if it be thy blessed will!' And accordingly, he had a very comfortable night, of which he took a very thankful notice before us the next day.

"And when he at one time more than ordinarily expressed a desire to live, and entreated me to pray for him, he added, 'And, dear father, if the Lord should raise me to serve him and his people, then I might travel with thee sometimes and we might ease one another,'—(meaning in the ministry.) He spoke this with great modesty; upon which I said to him, My dear child, if it will please the Lord to raise thee I am satisfied it will be so; and if not, then, inasmuch as it is thy fervent desire in the Lord he will look upon thee just as if thou didst live to serve him, and thy comfort will be the same. So either way it will



be well : for if thou shouldst not live I do verily believe thou wilt have the recompense of thy good desires, without the temptations and troubles that would attend if long life were granted thee.

“Saying one day thus ; ‘I am resolved I will have such a thing done,’ he immediately corrected himself, and fell into this reflection with much contrition,—‘Did I say, I will? O Lord forgive me that irreverent and hasty expression ! I am a poor creature, and live by Thee, and therefore I should have said, If it pleaseth Thee that I live, I intend to do so ; Lord, forgive my rash expression!’

“Seeing my present wife ready to be helpful, and to do anything for him, he turned to her and said, ‘Do not, thou do so. Let them do it. Don’t trouble thyself so much for such a poor creature as I am.’ And taking leave of him a few nights before his end, he said to her, ‘Pray for me, dear mother ! Thou art good and innocent. It may be the Lord may hear thy prayers for me ; for I desire my strength again, that I may live and employ it more in his service.’

“Two or three days before his departure he called his brother to him, and, looking awfully

upon him, said, ‘Be a good boy, and know that there is a Great God, a great and mighty God, who is a rewarder of the righteous, and so he is of the wicked; but their rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle people and idle company, and love good company and good friends, and the Lord will bless thee. I have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord; and if I should not live, (though the Lord is all-sufficient) remember what say I to thee, when I am dead and gone. Poor child, the Lord bless thee! Come and kiss me!’ which melted us all into tenderness, but his brother more particularly.

“Many good exhortations he gave to some of the servants, and others that came to see him, who were not of our communion, as well as to those who were, which drew tears from their eyes.

“The day but one before he died, he went to take the air in the coach, but said at his return, ‘Really, father, I am exceedingly weak. Thou canst not think how weak I am.’—My dear child, I replied, thou art weak, but God is strong, who is the strength of thy life!—‘Aye, that is it,’ said he, ‘which upholdeth me.’ And the day before he departed, being alone with him, he desired me

to fasten the door, and looking earnestly upon me, said, 'Dear father! thou art a dear father; and I know thy Father. Come, let us have a little meeting, a private ejaculation together, now nobody else is here. O my soul is sensible of the love of God!' And indeed a sweet time we had. It was like to precious ointment for his burial.

"He desired, if he were not to live, that he might go home to die there, and we had made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my house; and so much stronger was his spirit than his body, that he spoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed, and a symptom it was of his greater journey to his longer home. The morning he left us, growing more and more sensible of his extreme weakness, he asked me, as doubtful of himself, 'How shall I go home?' I told him, in a coach. He answered, 'I am best in a coach; but observing his decay, I said, Why child, thou art at home every where. 'Aye,' said he, 'so I am in the Lord.' I took that opportunity to ask him if I should remember his love to his friends at Bristol and London. 'Yes, yes,' said he, 'my love in the Lord, my love to all friends in the Lord and relations too.' He said, 'Aye, to

be sure.' Being asked if he would have his ass's milk, or eat any thing, he answered, 'No more outward food, but heavenly food is provided for me.'

"His time drawing on apace, he said to me, 'My dear father, kiss me! Thou art a dear father. I desire to praise thee. How can I make thee amends?'

"He also called his sister, and said to her, 'Poor child, come and kiss me!' between whom there seemed a tender and long parting. I sent for his brother, that he might kiss him too; which he did. All were in tears about him. Then turning his head to me, he said softly, 'Dear father! hast thou no hope for me?' I answered, 'My dear child! I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair, but am and have been resigned, though one of the hardest lessons I have ever learned.' He paused a while, and with a composed frame of mind said, 'Come life, come death, I am resigned.' Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring up the matter that was in his throat, somebody fetched the Doctor, but as soon as he came in he said, 'Let my father speak to the Doctor, and I'll go to sleep;' which he did, and waked no

more ; breathing his last upon my breast the tenth day of the second month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning of 1696, in his one and twentieth year.

“ So ended the life of my dear child, and eldest son, much of my comfort and hope, and one of the most tender and dutiful, as well as ingenious and virtuous youths I knew, if I may say so, of my own dear child ; in whom I lost all that a father could lose in a child, since he was capable of any thing that became a sober young man, my friend and companion, as well as my most affectionate and dutiful child.

“ May this loss and end have its due weight and impression on all his relations and friends and upon those to whose hands this account may come, for their remembrance, and preparation for their great and last change, and I have my end in making my dear child thus far public.”

In the year 1796, Peter the Great, as he was afterwards called, paid a visit to this country. He worked as a common labourer in the king's dock-yard at Deptford, that he might make himself practically acquainted with ship building. He rented a mansion in York buildings, in which

Prince Menzikoff resided, to accompany him when he went to court, or visited the nobility. William Penn had a great desire to see him; accompanied by George Whitehead, and others, he obtained an interview. A long conversation took place between the Czar and W. Penn, in the high Dutch language, and the latter presented him with several of his books, explanatory of the sentiments and manners of the Friends, in the same tongue. The monarch was so impressed with their sincerity and piety, that he occasionally attended their meetings whilst at Deptford; conducting himself, it is said, with great decorum and condescension. Sixteen years afterwards, when he was at Frederickstadt in Holstein, he enquired, whether there were any Friends in that place? And being told that there were; he went to one of their meetings attended by Prince Menzikoff, and several of his nobility. A Philip Defair preached on the occasion. The monarch sometimes interpreted what he said to the great men who were with him. When the discourse was ended, Peter remarked, that whoever, could live according to the doctrines which they had then heard, would be happy.

After the death of his son, in 1697, W. Penn

with his family, took up their residence in the city of Bristol; in the following year, he began seriously to think of returning to America. It was necessary however, that he should visit Ireland for the settlement of his affairs. After preaching in Dublin, and Wexford, he gave notice that he would hold a meeting at Waterford. He was detained at Ross, by a singular circumstance. Several of the horses belonging to the company who were with him, had been ferried over the river, whilst they were at dinner, but the others were seized. The pretence for this injustice was, that the Irish Parliament had passed an Act, that no papist should have a horse of the value of five guineas, and upwards; and that any Protestant discovering such a horse might seize it. William Penn very properly complained of this violence to the proper authorities; and the officers who had chosen, without the least ground, to regard him and his friends as Roman Catholics, were confined to their chambers, and pardoned finally, by the intercession of the individual whom they had insulted and injured.

Having preached at many places in Ireland, he returned to his family and friends at Bristol. Here he wrote a pamphlet, vindicating the society to

which he belonged, from the objections of the Bishop of Cork, and more fully explaining their views.

Several of the Norfolk clergy having united in a publication, greatly misrepresenting the sentiments of the Friends, which they presented to the Parliament, praying that the indulgence of the Toleration Act, might not be extended to their society, W. Penn circulated the following suitable address among the members of the Lords and Commons, "It does not surprise us to be evilly intreated, and especially by those who have an interest in doing it; but if conscience prevailed more than contention, and charity over-ruled prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adversaries.

"But such is our unhappiness, that nothing less will satisfy them, than breaking in upon the indulgence we enjoy, if they could persuade the government to second their attempts to a new persecution; in order to which we perceive they have been hard at work to pervert our books, violate our sense, abuse our practice, and ridicule our persons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the patience of our profession is their security in abusing it.



“ However, if it has weight enough with our superiors, to make them expect a fresh defence of our principles and practice, we shall, with God’s assistance, be ready for their satisfaction, once more to justify them, both against the insults of our restless adversaries ; who otherwise, we beg leave to say, would not deserve our notice ; since we have already repeatedly answered their objections in print, and think it our duty, as well as wisdom, to use the liberty the government has favoured us with, in as peaceable and inoffensive a manner as may be.”

He now began seriously to prepare for a voyage to America, and had determined to take his wife and family with him. Having addressed a letter to the Friends scattered through Europe, he embarked at Cowes for Pennsylvania. He arrived in the river Delaware, after a tedious passage of nearly three months, the last day of the eleventh month, 1699. The yellow fever, which had painfully raged in the settlement, had just subsided. Thomas Story, who had preceded W. Penn, in a voyage to the new colony, gives, in his journal, the following brief account of this painful visitation. “ Whilst I was in Philadelphia, six, seven,

and eight persons a day, were taken off, for several weeks together. Great was the majesty, and the hand of the Lord. Great was the fear which fell upon all. I saw no lofty nor airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting, to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raise unreasonable mirth; nor extravagant feasting; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as if they waited every moment to be called to the grave, and to be summoned to the bar of God."

W. Penn proceeded, as soon as possible, to Philadelphia, where he was received with universal congratulation. The people were especially pleased with the hope, that he intended to fix his residence among them for the remainder of his days. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the fields were covered with ice, he journeyed from place to place, "doing good." One evening, when he slept at Merion, "a boy, about twelve years of age, son of the person at whose house he lodged, being an inquisitive lad, and not often seeing such a guest, privately crept up a flight of steps, on the outside of the building to his chamber door. On peeping through the latch-hole, he was

struck with awe in beholding this distinguished character upon his knees, by the bed-side; he could distinctly hear him in prayer, and more especially thanking God, who had kindly provided for his wants in the wilderness. What the lad saw and heard were not, it is said, effaced from his memory, though he lived to be very old."

Soon after the settlement was made in Pennsylvania, a few Negroes had been procured; by this period they had greatly increased. Though it was then generally regarded as a great advantage to the African, to be redeemed from a land of idolatry and heathenism, and few questioned the propriety of such a transaction, William Penn had turned his thoughts closely to the subject, and was fully of opinion, that it was inconsistent with the Christian religion, to buy and sell men, and to hold them in slavery. Resolutions, founded on this sentiment, were passed in the different societies of the Friends. The Governor especially, had turned his attention to the spiritual and eternal welfare of these poor foreigners, regarding them as the children of one common Father. He exhorted the planters to look on them as parts of their own families, for whose welfare and religious

instruction, they were altogether responsible. In the house of Assembly, he proposed two bills for the security of the privileges of the slaves, and a third for the regulation of their trials and punishments; but, strange to relate, he could not influence the planters to pass more than the latter.

In order to cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, and to do them good, he attended one of their feasts, and he encouraged their chiefs to visit him at Pennsbury. Here he often gave them audience in his great hall. He also undertook a journey through his settlements for the preaching of the Gospel. Many instances of his kindness and condescension frequently occurred. As he was going to Haverfordwest he overtook a little girl on the road; and understanding, in answer to his enquiries, that she was going to meeting, he bade her get up behind him, and he brought his horse to a convenient place that she might do so.

He also made preaching excursions into Jersey and Maryland. Of this last, a traveller gives the following account. "Lord Baltimore, and his lady, with their retinue, attended; but it was late before they came, and the principal part of the services were over;" or, as the narrator expressed

it, "the strength and glory of the heavenly power of the Lord was going off from the meeting; so the lady was much disappointed, as I understood by W. Penn; for she told him, she did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a scholar and a wise man; and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our mechanics preach, for she thought they could not preach to any purpose. W. Penn told her, that some of these were rather the best preachers we had among us."

Soon after this W. Penn went to Philadelphia to meet several Kings of different nations of Indians. The design of their meeting was to make one general treaty between themselves and the Governor. Many kind speeches were made on both sides. It was agreed, "that there should be a firm and lasting peace between W. Penn, and his heirs, and the said Kings and their successors, in behalf of their respective tribes; that they should be as one head and one heart; that they should at no time, hurt, injure, or defraud each other, or suffer each other to be hurt, injured, or defrauded; that the Indians should behave themselves regularly and soberly according to the laws

of Pennsylvania, while they lived in it, and that they should have, in return, the same benefit from the said laws as the other inhabitants; that they should not aid or assist any other nation, whether Indians or others, that were not in amity with England, and the Government of Pennsylvania; that they should not sell their skins, furs, or other produce, to persons out of the said province, but only to those publicly authorized to trade with them; and that for their encouragement, care should be taken that they should be duly furnished with all sorts of necessary goods, and at reasonable rates; and that the Potomac Indians should have free leave to settle on any part of Potomac river within the bounds of the province, so long as they conformed themselves to the articles of the treaty."

The treaty having been read, the contracting parties ratified it by presents, and set their hands and seals to it; the Indians brought five parcels of skins, and W. Penn gave them various articles of English merchandize.

News having reached him from England, that the Government were proposing to make very great changes in the management of the American

Colonies, he was much distressed. The owners of land, who were resident in the parent country, petitioned the Parliament, that all proceedings in the business might be delayed, till W. Penn could arrive in England. They now requested him to return with all possible dispatch. He clearly saw the necessity of the case, and determined to hasten to Europe, to plead his own cause, and that of the Colonies.

As soon as he was able, therefore, he called the House of Assembly together, and made known to them the intelligence he had received, and his intention of leaving them for a season. "I confess," said he, "I cannot think of such a voyage, without great reluctancy of mind, having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness; and that I might stay so long at least with you as to render every body entirely easy and safe; for my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think; and no unkindness or disappointment shall, with submission to God's providence, ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return, and settle my family and posterity in it; but having reason to believe, I can at this time best serve you, and

myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season, nor the tender circumstances of my family, can over-rule my inclinations to undertake it."

The whole of his deportment towards the people in his Colonies was marked by generous conciliation. Before he left them, as he found there were still many differences and foolish jealousies in the Assembly, he addressed to them the following brief, but most excellent communication.

"FRIENDS,

"Your union is what I desire; but your peace, and accommodating one another is what I must expect from you. The reputation of it is something; the reality is much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: *yield in circumstantial to preserve essentials*; and, being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad when I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as for your Friend and Governor,

WILLIAM PENN."

This letter produced a spirit of kindness and moderation among the senators, which happily continued till the end of the session.



Having given a Charter to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and appointed suitable persons to manage the public affairs during his absence, he bade them farewell. "He had applied himself," as one of his Biographers well remarks, "to the offices of government, always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants, to his own private interest; rather remitting, than rigorously exacting his lawful revenues: so that, under the influence of his paternal administration, he left the province in an easy and flourishing condition." After a voyage of about six weeks, he arrived at Portsmouth, with his wife and family about the middle of December, 1701.

He had soon the pleasure to find, that the Bill, on whose account he had crossed the Atlantic, which was designed to convert his colonies into regal governments, had been abandoned.

King William dying about this time, Queen Anne succeeded to the throne. W. Penn sometimes attended her court, and was always kindly received. She was pleased to converse with the Governor, especially on American affairs. He presented to her the Address of the Friends on her accession. On which occasion her Majesty said,

“Mr. Penn, I am well pleased, that what I have said is to your satisfaction; you, and your Friends may be assured of my protection.”

He was much grieved by all his letters from America, to learn, that those to whom he had committed the management of his affairs, could not agree among themselves. The whole of their conduct gave him the greatest uneasiness. His trouble also was greatly increased, by the unjust demands of the executors of his steward, in whom he appears to have placed great confidence, and which he had shamefully abused. He appealed to the court of Chancery, but could gain no redress. So much was he embarrassed by this affair in his pecuniary concerns, that he was obliged to mortgage his Province of Pennsylvania for six thousand, six hundred pounds. A co-temporary writer notices this circumstance in the following terms,—“The troubles that befell William Penn in the latter part of his life are of a nature too private to have a place in a public history. He trusted an ungrateful, unjust agent too liberally with the management of his property; and when he expected to have been thousands of pounds the better for it, he found himself thousands of pounds in debt; insomuch

that he was restrained of his liberty within the privilege of the Fleet, by a tedious and unsuccessful law-suit; which, together with age, broke his spirits not easily to be broken, and rendered him incapable of business and society, as he was wont to be in the days of his health, and vigour both of body and mind."

The air near London not being favourable to his health, he took in 1710, a mansion at Rushcomb, near Twyford, in Berkshire. Two years afterwards he determined to part with his interest in his American Colonies to Government. Queen Anne referred his proposal to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. An agreement was at length concluded, by which he was to receive twelve thousand pounds. But it was not then executed, as his health was in a very bad state. He had been attacked by several apoplectic fits, which left his memory and understanding sadly impaired.

The Assemblies in his Colonies continuing their conflicts and jealousies, all the intelligence he received from them added greatly to his trouble. Summoning up all his broken faculties, he therefore wrote them an expostulatory letter, which

seems, to have been of some service, in awakening them to more becoming considerations of their interest and duty. As it appears to be the last he wrote on this subject, a few of its most interesting paragraphs are presented to the reader.

“MY OLD FRIENDS,

“It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that Province in a language which I hoped I should never have occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions, that I have met with, from thence, oblige me, with plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you concerning the causes of them.

“When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect solid comfort from the service done to many hundred families; and it was no small satisfaction to me, that I had not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease, and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect, and wanting nothing to make themselves happy, but what with

right temper of mind, and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence. The many combats I have engaged in, the great pains and incredible expense for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate, of which, (however some of them would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects, with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow, that if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it a hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty.

“For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees (for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has an interest there is, or must be concerned in them by their effects), I must therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been, doing; why matters must

be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest which I have met with, as if I were an enemy and not a friend, after all I have done and spent both here and there: I am sure I know not of any cause whatever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say, it were fit for you to demand, provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

“As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquility and prosperity of the Province and Government in all its branches, could I see that any of these things that have been contended for would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient powers to discharge its respective duty for the support of the whole; I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it, than to take so much of the

executive part of the Government out of the Governor's hands,—and lodge it in an uncertain executive body; and more especially since our Government is dependent, and I am answerable to the Crown if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations, I cannot think it prudent in the people to crave these powers; because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting any thing of this kind that were asked of me with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe the contentions that have been raised about these matters, have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire notwithstanding at the bottom to serve the public (which I hope has still been the inducement of several concerned in them), I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attack on my reputation; the many indignities put upon me in papers sent over hither into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret

insinuations against my justice ; besides the attempt made upon my estate ; resolves past in the Assemblies for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, for the support of Government ; my lands entered upon without any regular method ; my manors invaded (under pretence that I had not duly surveyed them), and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here ; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found ; my private estate continually exhausting for the support of that government, both here and there, and no provision made for it by that country ; to all which I cannot but add, the violence, that has been particularly shewn to my secretary ; of which (though I shall by no means protect him in anything he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions,) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with milder treatment from his prosecutors ; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there on my account, and, instead



of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melaucholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and at the same time think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from that Province; I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition; and, blind to their own interests, are over-setting that foundation on which your happiness might be built.

“Friends! the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as the land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy; but, to see the use you make of them is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to

come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive even the sense or meaning. Where are the distresses, grievances, and oppressions, that the papers sent from thence so often say you languish under, while others have cause to believe you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any in the Queen's Dominions?

“Is it such a grievous oppression, that the courts are established by my power, founded on the King's Charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main without tying me up to the opinion of, principally, one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for I believe the late Assembly have had but one lawyer amongst them) and I am freely content you should have any law that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers fees are not settled by an act of Assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion than myself. Do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and, I hope, my lieutenant's concurrence and

approbation. Is it such an oppression that licences for public-houses, have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable: but that business I find is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression you lie under, that it is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such) I would be as ready on my part to remove them as you to desire it; but according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen, (and you once thought I had a pretty good one,) I must in a deep sense of sorrow say, that I fear the kind hand of Providence that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there to the great mercies of God hitherto shewn them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, into calamities, reduce those that have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented, to a true but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all; I doubt not

many of you have been burdened, and can by no means join in, the measures that have been taken; but whilst such things appear under the name of an Assembly, that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

“ I have already been tedious, and shall now therefore briefly say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must at length force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances in relation to that Province. In the meantime I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me, that has not of late been paid; pray consider of it fully, and think soberly of what you have to desire of me on this one hand, and ought to perform to me on the other; for, from the next Assembly I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition toward me. But if a plurality, after

this, shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared; and I shall then, without further suspence, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love, and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end, our relation in the Truth having but the same true interest.

“I am with great truth and most sincere regard, your real Friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor,  
WILLIAM PENN.”

As to his health, he still continued in a declining state; from the nature of his affliction, it might, indeed, reasonably have been expected. A Friend, who at this period was at his house for a few days, has left the following gratifying account of his circumstances. “He was then,” says Thomas Story, “under the lamentable effects of an apoplectic fit, which he had had some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended; so that he was not now so conversible as formerly, and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before;

wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks; for though to some this accident might look like judgment, and no doubt his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others to the injury of his own concerns, and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of Truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expression, for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to, by a disorder of the organs of that body, with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When these are but a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts, and finest expression, becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind

was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him, and that he had still a good sense of Truth is plain, by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of Truth, in an evening-meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted ; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end.

In 1715, he journeyed to Bath for a season for the benefit of the waters, but they were of no real utility to him. He went in his chariot, nearly to the last, to the meeting at Reading ; where he occasionally uttered a few weighty sentiments ; and ever manifested to his friends around him the greatest tenderness. On one occasion, when several of them left him, he said, " My love is with you ; the Lord preserve you ; and remember me in the everlasting covenant ! "

After a continued and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near to its dissolution. On the thirtieth day of July 1718, between two and three o'clock in the morning, in the

seventy-fourth year of his age, his spirit, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was committed to the earth at Jordans, in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife, and several of his family, were interred. And as he had led in this life a course of patient continuance in well-doing, and through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, had been able to overcome his spiritual enemies, he has, doubtless, been admitted to that everlasting inheritance which God hath prepared for those who love him."

A large concourse of people, from all parts, attended his funeral. They consisted, so generally was he respected, of persons of all religious denominations. "I arrived," says one of his old friends, "at Rushcomb late in the evening, where I found the widow and most of the family together. My coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. We had a solid time of worship together, though but few words among us for some time; for it was a deep baptizing season, and the Lord was near at that time. I accompanied the corpse to the grave, where we had a large meeting; and as the Lord had made choice of him in the



days of his youth for great and good services ; had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various sorts, and did not leave him in his last moments; so, he was pleased to honour this occasion with his blessed presence, and gave us a happy season of his goodness, to the general satisfaction of all."

He was rather large, and towards the close of life, corpulent in his person, and remarkably neat in his dress. His family was regulated by much wisdom and piety. The members of it assembled for divine worship, morning and evening. They were called together also about eleven o'clock, when each read a portion of Scripture, or of some good book. He excelled in conversation; Tillotson, it is said, took much pleasure in his company; and Dean Swift affirms, that when he had met him occasionally, "he talked very agreeably, and with much spirit." It is evident, from the whole of his character, "that he was," as Clarkson observes, "a kind husband, a tender father, a noble patriot, and a good man." He seems to have been daily conversant with the divine Being, daily worshipping and praising him, either in private, family, or public devotions. All his publications, nay, almost every letter, breathes a spirit of piety,

and reliance upon God. Hence he must have been lowly-minded, merciful, and just. Under disappointments he was patient, under persecutions forgiving. Though his life was a scene of trial and suffering, he had intervals of comfort and happiness of the most substantial nature; one ray of the divine presence often dissipating whole clouds of affliction."

As a legislator, he is worthy of the highest commendation. He established it as a fundamental principle, that it was the truest wisdom, as well as equity, that the most unlimited toleration should be granted to persons of all religious persuasions. He abolished the punishment of death, except in case of murder. He ordained, that all prisons should become workshops, and places of manufacture. He regarded the reformation of the criminal, as the great point at which the magistrate should aim. He saw the wickedness of exterminating a culprit, where there was a possibility of correcting his morals. He thought, that the great end of punishment was to deter, and to prevent men from the commission of crime. The present generation is reaping, and all future ones will experience the benefit of his laws. Wilful and premeditated

murder is still the only capital offence in Philadelphia. "All other crimes are punished by fine, imprisonment, and labour. All convicted criminals are expected to maintain themselves out of their own labour, as well as to defray the expenses of their commitment, prosecution, and trial. Accordingly an account is kept regularly; and if when the term of their imprisonment is expired, any surplus money is due to them on account of their work, it is given to them on their discharge. No corporal punishment is allowed in the prison; nor can any criminal be put into irons, it being the object not to degrade him, but to induce him to be constantly looking up to the restoration of his dignity as a man, and to the recovery of his moral character. No intercourse is allowed between the untried and convicted prisoners. All unnecessary conversation is forbidden. Profane swearing is never overlooked. A watch is kept against the introduction of spirituous liquors. All the prisoners have the benefit of religious instruction. The prisons are open at stated times, to the pastors of the different denominations. Hope is held out to the prisoners, that the time of their confinement may be lessened by their good behaviour. Those who visit the

criminals in the jails at Philadelphia, see no chains nor fetters, but industry in various departments going on; so that the place appears, as a general manufactory, where different people have agreed to follow their respective trades."

The greatest advantages have arisen from these salutary regulations. Crimes have been diminished one half; and multitudes of criminals have been reformed, and restored to the community.

That the Indians cherished a great regard for him after his death, appears evident from a variety of circumstances. When Sir W. Keith called five of their nations together at Albany, in 1722, one of their chiefs made the following speech. "Brother Onas! you have told us, that at the time you brightened the covenant chain between us, you wished it might be clear and lasting as the sun and stars in heaven, for which we thank you. And we being now all present do in the most solemn and public manner renew the covenant and brighten the chain made between us; that the lustre thereof may never be obscured by any clouds or darkness, but may shine as clear and last as long as the sun in the firmament." Brother Onas! you have likewise told us how William Penn, who was a good

man, did, at his first settlement of the province of Pennsylvania, make leagues of friendship with the Indians, and treated them like brethren, and that, like the same good man, he left it in charge to all his Governors who should succeed him, and to all the people of Pennsylvania, that they should always keep the covenants and treaties which he made with the five nations, and treat them with love and kindness. We acknowledge that his Governors and people have always kept the same honestly and truly to this day; so we on our part always have kept and for ever shall keep firm peace and friendship with a good heart to all the people of Pennsylvania. We thankfully receive and approve of all the articles in your proposition to us, and acknowledge them to be good and full of love. We receive and approve of the same with our whole heart, because we are not only made one people by the covenant chain, but we also are people united in one head, one body, and one heart, by the strongest ties of love and friendship. Brother Onas! We say further, we are glad to hear the former treaties made with William Penn, repeated to us again, and renewed by you,

and we esteem and love you, as if you were William Penn himself."

Among a multitude of eulogies which have been pronounced, and justly, on the character of William Penn, that of Father O'Leary, a Roman Catholic, is worthy of being preserved. "William Penn," says he, "had the success of a conqueror in establishing and defending his Colony among savage tribes, without ever drawing the sword; the goodness of the most benevolent rulers, in treating his subjects as his own children; and the tenderness of a universal father, who opened his arms to all mankind, without distinction of sect or party. In his republic it was not the religious creed, but personal merit, that entitled every member of society to the protection and emoluments of the state." Truly, it would have been eminently happy for mankind, if the legislators of nations had all resembled William Penn.

P R E F A C E.  
TO  
F R U I T S   O F   S O L I T U D E .

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READER,

THIS Enehiridion, I present thee with, is the fruit of solitude : a school few care to learn in, though none instructs us better. Some parts of it are the result of serious reflection ; others the flashings of lucid intervals, written for private satisfaction, and now published for a help to human conduct.

The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it ; for though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.

He has now had some time he could call his own, a property he was never so much master of before ; in which he has taken a view of himself and the world ; and observed wherein he hath hit and missed the mark ; what might have been done, what mended, and what avoided, in his human conduct : together with the omissions and excesses of others, as well societies and governments, as private families and persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's grace serve him, but his neigh-

bour and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the worst nor the idlest man in the world; nor is he the oldest. And this is rather said, that it might quicken thee, reader, to lose none of the time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of time, and about which we ought to be more solicitous; since without it we can do nothing in this world. Time is what we want most, but what, alas! we use worst; and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us, when time shall be no more.

It is of that moment to us in reference to both worlds, that I can hardly wish any man better, than that he would seriously consider what he does with his time; how and to what end he employs it; and what returns he makes to God, his neighbour and himself for it. Will he never have a ledger for this; this, the greatest wisdom and work of life?

To come but once into the world, and trifle away our true enjoyment of it, and of ourselves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one reflection would yield a thinking person great instruction. And, since nothing below man can so think, man in being thoughtless must needs fall below himself. And that, to be sure, such do, as are unconcerned in the use of their most precious time.



This is but too evident, if we will allow ourselves to consider, that there is hardly any thing we take by the right end, or improve to its just advantage.

We understand little of the works of God, either in nature or grace. We pursue false knowledge, and mistake education extremely. We are violent in our affections, confused and immethodical in our whole life; making that a burden, which was given for a blessing, and so of little comfort to ourselves or others; misapprehending the true notion of happiness, and so missing the right use of life, and the way of happy living.

And, until we are persuaded to stop, and step a little aside, out of the noisy crowd and encumbering hurry of the world; and calmly take a prospect of things, it will be impossible we should be able to make a right judgment of ourselves, or know our own misery. But, after we have made the just reckonings, which retirement will help us to, we shall begin to think the world in great measure mad, and that we have been in a sort of bedlam all this while.

Reader, whether young or old, think it not too soon or too late to turn over the leaves of thy past life: and be sure to fold down where any passage of it may affect thee: and bestow thy remainder of time, to correct those faults in thy future conduct, be it in relation to this or the next life. What thou

wouldst do, if what thou hast done were to do again, be sure to do as long as thou livest, upon the like occasions.

Our resolutions seem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our past errors; but alas! they are apt to flag again upon fresh temptations to the same things.

The author does not pretend to deliver thee an exact piece; his business not being ostentation, but charity. It is miscellaneous in the matter of it, and by no means artificial in the composure. But it contains hints, that may serve thee for texts to preach to thyself upon, and which comprehend much of the course of human life; since whether thou art parent or child, prince or subject, master or servant, single or married, public or private, mean or honourable, rich or poor, prosperous or unprosperous, in peace or controversy, in business or solitude; whatever be thy inclination or aversion, practice or duty, thou wilt find something not unsuitably said for thy direction and advantage. Accept and improve what deserves thy notice; the rest excuse, and place to account of good-will to thee and the whole creation of God.

William Penn

## FRUITS OF SOLITUDE.

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### IGNORANCE.

It is admirable to consider how many millions of people come into, and go out of the world, ignorant of themselves, and of the world they have lived in.

If one went to see Windsor Castle, or Hampton Court, it would be strange not to observe and remember the situation, the building, the gardens, fountains, &c. that make up the beauty and pleasure of such a seat. And yet few people know themselves: no, not their own bodies, the houses of their minds, the most curious structure of the world; a living, walking, tabernacle; nor the world of which it was made, and out of which it was fed; which it would be so much for our benefit, as well as our pleasure to know. We cannot doubt this, when we are told that "the invisible things of God are brought to light by the things that are seen;" and, consequently, we read

our duty in them, as often as we look upon them, to Him that is the great and wise Author of them, if we look as we should do,

The world is certainly a great and stately volume of natural things, and may be, not improperly, styled the hieroglyphics of a better; but, alas, how very few leaves of it do we seriously turn over! This ought to be the subject of the education of our youth; who, at twenty, when they should be fit for business, know little or nothing of it.

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## EDUCATION.

WE take pains to make our children scholars, but not men; to talk, rather than to know; which is true canting.

The first thing obvious to children is what is sensible: and that we make no part of their rudiments.

We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain, and load them with words and rules to know grammar and rhetoric, and a strange tongue or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them; leaving their natural genius to mechanical, and physical or natural knowledge uncultivated and neglected: which would be of exceeding use and

pleasure to them through the whole course of their life.

To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected; but things are still to be preferred.

Children had rather be making of tools and instruments of play; shaping, drawing, framing and building, &c. than getting some rules of propriety of speech by heart: and those also would follow with more judgment, and less trouble and time.

It were happy if we studied nature more in natural things; and acted according to nature: whose rules are few, plain, and most reasonable.

Let us begin where she begins, go her pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot miss of being good naturalists.

The creation would not be longer a riddle to us. The heavens, earth, and waters, with their respective, various, and numerous inhabitants, their productions, natures, seasons, sympathies, and antipathies, their use, benefit, and pleasure, would be better understood by us; and an eternal wisdom, power, majesty, and goodness, very conspicuous to us, through those sensible and passing forms: the world wearing the mark of its Maker, whose stamp is every where visible, and the characters very legible to the children of wisdom.

And it would go a great way to caution and direct people in their use of the world, that they were better studied and known in the creation of it. For how could men find the confidence to abuse it, while they should see the great Creator stare them in the face in all and every part thereof?

Their ignorance makes them insensible; and to that insensibility may be ascribed their hard usage of several parts of this noble creation, that has the stamp and voice of a Deity every where, and in every thing, to the observing.

It is pity, therefore, that books have not been composed for youth by some curious and careful naturalists, and also mechanics, in the Latin tongue, to be used in schools, that they might learn things with words: things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the tongue easier to be obtained by them.

Many able gardeners and husbandmen are ignorant of the reason of their calling; as most artificers are of the reason of their own rules that govern their excellent workmanship. But a naturalist and mechanic, of this sort, is master of the reason of both, and might be of the practice too, if his industry kept pace with his speculation; which were very commendable; and without which he

cannot be said to be a complete naturalist or mechanic.

Finally, if man be the index or epitome of the world, as philosophers tell us, we have only to read ourselves well, to be learned in it. But because there is nothing we less regard than the characters of the Power that made us, which are so clearly written upon us, and the world he has given us, and can best tell us what we are and should be; we are even strangers to our own genius: the glass in which we should see that true, instructing, and agreeable variety, which is to be observed in nature, to the admiration of that wisdom, and adoration of that power, which made us all.

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### PRIDE.

AND yet we are very apt to be full of ourselves, instead of him that made what we so much value; and but for whom we can have no reason to value ourselves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not ourselves: for we are all but tenants, and at will too, of the great Lord of ourselves and the rest of his great farm, the world that we live upon.

But, methinks, we cannot answer it to ourselves, as well as our Maker, that we should live and die ignorant of ourselves, and thereby of him, and the obligations we are under to him for ourselves.

If the worth of a gift sets the obligation, and directs the return of the party that receives it, he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loss to value it, and to thank the giver for it.

Here is man in ignorance of himself : he knows not how to estimate his Creator, because he knows not how to value his creation. If we consider his make, and lovely compositure, the several stories of his wonderful structure, his divers members, their orders, function, and dependency; the instruments of food, the vessels of digestion, the several transmutations it passes, and how nourishment is carried and diffused throughout the whole body, by most intricate and imperceptible passages; how the animal spirit is thereby refreshed, and, with an unspeakable dexterity and motion, sets all parts at work to feed themselves; and, last of all, how the rational soul is seated in the animal as its proper house, as is the animal in the body : I say, if this rare fabric alone were but considered by us, with all the rest by which it is fed and comforted, surely man would have a more reverent sense of



the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, and of that duty he owes to him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own soul, its noble faculties, its union with the body, its nature and end, and the providences by which the whole frame of humanity is preserved, he would admire and adore his good and great God. But man is become a strange contradiction to himself; but it is of himself, not being by constitution but corruption such.

He would have others obey him, even his own kind; but he will not obey God, who is so much above him, and who made him.

He will lose none of his authority—no, not abate an ace of it. He is humoursome to his wife, he beats his children, is angry with his servants, strict with his neighbours, revenges all affronts to extremity; but, alas! forgets all the while that he is the man; and is more in arrear to God, that is so very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is so strict and impatient.

He is curious to wash, dress, and perfume his body, but careless of his soul; the one shall have many hours, the other not so many minutes; this shall have three or four new suits in a year, but that must wear its old clothes still.

If he be to receive or see a Great man, how nice

and anxious is he that all things be in order; and with what respect and address does he approach and make his court? But to God, how dry, and formal and constrained in his devotion?

In his prayers he says, "Thy will be done," but means his own: at least acts so.

It is too frequent to begin with God, and end with the world. But he is the good man's beginning and end, his Alpha and Omega.

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## LUXURY.

SUCH is now become our delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary meat, nor drink small, palled liquor; we must have the best and the best cooked for our bodies, while our souls feed on empty or corrupted things.

In short, man is spending all upon a bare house, which hath little or no furniture within to recommend it; which is preferring the cabinet before the jewel, a lease of seven years before an inheritance. So absurd a thing is man, after all his proud pretences to wit and understanding.

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## INCONSIDERATION.

THE want of due consideration is the cause of all the unhappiness man brings upon himself. For his second thoughts rarely agree with his first; which pass not without a considerable retrenchment or correction. And yet that sensible warning is, too frequently, not precaution enough for his future conduct.

Well may we say, "Our infelicity is of ourselves;" since there is nothing that we should not do, but we know it, and yet do it.

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## DISAPPOINTMENT AND RESIGNATION.

FOR disappointments, that come not by our own folly, they are the trials or corrections of heaven: and it is our own fault if they prove not our advantage.

To repine at them does not mend the matter: it is only to grumble at our Creator. But to see the hand of God in them, with an humble submission to his will, is the way to turn our water into wine, and engage the greatest love and mercy on our side.

We must needs disorder ourselves, if we only look at our losses. But if we consider how little

we deserve what is left, our passion will cool, and our murmurs will turn into thankfulness.

If our hairs fall not to the ground, less do we, or our substance, without God's providence.

Nor can we fall below the arms of God, how low soever it be we fall.

For though our Saviour's passion is over, his compassion is not. That never fails his humble sincere disciples. In him they find more than all that they lose in the world.

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### MURMURING.

Is it reasonable to take it ill, that any body desires of us that which is their own? All we have is the Almighty's: and shall not God have his own when he calls for it?

Discontentedness is not only in such a case ingratitude, but injustice: for we are both unthankful for the time we had it, and not honest enough to restore it if we could keep it.

But it is hard for us to look on things in such a glass, and at such a distance from this low world; and yet it is our duty, and would be our wisdom and our glory to do so.

## CENSORIOUSNESS.

WE are apt to be very forward to censure others, where we will not endure advice ourselves. And nothing shews our weakness more, than to be so sharp-sighted at spying other men's faults, and so purblind about our own.

When the actions of a neighbour are upon the stage, we can have all our wits about us, are so quick and critical that we can split a hair, and find out every failure and infirmity: but are without feeling, or have but very little sense, of our own.

Much of this comes from ill nature, as well as from an inordinate value of ourselves: for we love rambling better than home, and blaming the unhappy rather than covering and relieving them.

On such occasions some shew their malice, and are witty upon misfortunes; others their justice, they can reflect apace; but few or none their charity, especially if it be about money matters.

You shall see an old miser come forth with a set gravity, and so much severity against the distressed, to excuse his purse, that he will, ere he has done, put it out of all question that riches is righteousness with him. "This," says he, "is the fruit of your prodigality, (as if, poor man, covet-

ousness were no fault,) or of your projects, or grasping after a great trade;" while he himself would have done the same thing, but that he had not the courage to venture so much ready money out of his own trusty hands, though it had been to have brought him back the Indies in return. But the proverb is just, "Vice should not correct sin."

They have a right to censure that have a heart to help: the rest is cruelty, not justice.

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### BOUNDS OF CHARITY.

LEND not beyond thy ability, nor refuse to lend out of thy ability; especially when it will help others more than it can hurt thee.

If thy debtor be honest and capable, thou hast thy money again, if not with increase, with praise. If he prove insolent, do not ruin him to get that which it will not ruin thee to lose: for thou art but a steward, and another is thy owner, master, and judge.

The more merciful acts thou doest, the more mercy thou wilt receive: and if with a charitable employment of thy temporal riches, thou gainest eternal treasure, thy purchase is infinite: thou wilt have found the art of multiplying indeed.

## FRUGALITY OR BOUNTY.

FRUGALITY is good, if liberality be joined with it. The first is leaving off superfluous expences; the last is bestowing them to the benefit of others that need. The first without the last begins covetousness; the last without the first begins prodigality. Both together make an excellent temper. Happy the place where they are found.

Were it universal, we should be cured of two extremes, want and excess; and the one would supply the other, and so bring both nearer to a mean,—the just degree of earthly happiness.

It is a reproach to religion and government, to suffer so much poverty and excess.

Were the superfluities of a nation valued, and made a perpetual tax or benevolence, there would be more almshouses than poor, schools than scholars, and enough to spare for government besides.

Hospitality is good, if the poorer sort are the subjects of our bounty; else too near a superfluity.

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 DISCIPLINE.

IF thou wouldst be happy and easy in thy family, above all things observe discipline.

Every one in it should know his duty ; and there should be a time and place for every thing ; and whatever else is done or omitted, be sure to begin and end with God.

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### INDUSTRY.

LOVE labour : for if thou dost not want it for food, thou mayest for physic. It is wholesome for thy body, and good for thy mind. It prevents the fruits of idleness, which many times come of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worse than nothing.

A garden, a laboratory, a workhouse, improvements, and breeding, are pleasant and profitable diversions to the idle and ingenious ; for here they miss ill company, and converse with nature and art, whose varieties are equally grateful and instructing, and preserve a good constitution of body and mind.

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### TEMPERANCE.

To this a spare diet contributes much. Eat therefore to live, and do not live to eat. That is like a man, but this below a beast.



Have wholesome, but not costly food; and be rather cleanly than dainty in ordering it.

The receipts of cookery are swelled to a volume, but a good stomach excels them all: to which nothing contributes more than industry and temperance.

It is a cruel folly to offer up to ostentation so many lives of creatures, as make up the state of our treats; as it is a prodigal one to spend more in sauce than in meat.

The proverb says, "That enough is as good as a feast;" but it is certainly better, if superfluity be a fault, which it never fails to be at festivals.

If thou rise with an appetite, thou art sure never to sit down without one.

Rarely drink but when thou art dry; nor then, between meals, if it can be avoided.

The smaller the drink, the clearer the head, and the cooler the blood: which are great benefits in temper and business.

Strong liquors are good at some times, and in small proportions: being better for physic, than food; for cordials, than common use.

The most common things are the most useful; which shews both the wisdom and goodness of the great Lord of the family of the world.

What, therefore, he has made rare, do not thou use too commonly : lest thou shouldst invert the use and order of things, become wanton and voluptuous, and thy blessings prove a curse.

“Let nothing be lost,” said our Saviour; but that is lost that is misused.

Neither urge another to that thou wouldst be unwilling to do thyself; nor do thyself what looks unseemly and intemperate in another.

All excess is ill; but drunkenness is of the worst sort. It spoils health, dismounts the mind, and unmans men. It reveals secrets, is quarelsome, lascivious, impudent, dangerous, and mad. In fine, he that is drunk is not a man: because he is, while drunk, void of that reason that distinguishes a man from a beast.

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### APPAREL.

EXCESS in apparel is another costly folly. The very trimming of the vain world would clothe all the naked one.

Choose thy clothes by thine own eyes, not another's. The more plain and simple they are, the better; neither unshapely nor fantastical; and for use and decency, and not for pride.

If thou art clean and warm, it is sufficient; for more doth but rob the poor, and please the wanton.

It is said of the true church, "The king's daughter is all glorious within." Let our care, therefore, be of our minds, more than of our bodies, if we would be of her communion.

We are told with truth, "That meekness and modesty are the rich and charming attire of the soul:" and the plainer the dress, the more distinct, and with greater lustre, their beauty shines.

It is great pity such beauties are so rare, and those of Jezebel's forehead are so common, whose dresses are incentives to lust; but bars, instead of motives, to love or virtue.

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### RIGHT MARRIAGE.

NEVER marry but for love; but see that thou lovest what is lovely.

If love be not thy chiefest motive, thou wilt soon grow weary of a married state, and stray from thy promise to search out thy pleasures in forbidden places.

Let not enjoyment lessen, but augment, affection: it being the basest of passions to like when we have not, what we slight when we possess.

It is the difference betwixt lust and love, that this is fixed, that volatile. Love grows, lust wastes, by enjoyment: and the reason is, that one springs from an union of souls, the other springs from an union of sense.

They have diverse originals, and so are of different families: that inward and deep, this superficial; this transient, and that permanent.

They that marry for money, cannot have the true satisfaction of marriage; the requisite means being wanting.

Men are generally more careful of the breed of their horses and dogs, than of their children.

Those must be of the best sort for shape, strength, courage, and good conditions: but as for these, their own posterity, money shall answer all things. With such it makes the crooked straight, sets squint-eyes right, cures madness, covers folly, changes ill conditions, mends the skin, gives a sweet breath, repairs honours, makes young, works wonders.

O how sordid is man grown! man, the noblest creature of the world, as a God on earth, and the image of him that made it; thus to mistake earth for heaven, and worship gold for God!

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## AVARICE.

COVETOUSNESS is the greatest of monsters, as well as the root of all evil. I have once seen a man that died to save charges! "What! Give ten shillings to a doctor, and have an apothecary's bill besides, that may come to I know not what!" No, not he: valuing life less than twenty shillings. But, indeed, such a man could not, well, set too low a price upon himself; who, though he lived up to the chin in bags, had rather die, than find in his heart to open one of them, to help to save his life.

Such a man is "felo de se," and deserves not christian burial.

He is a common nuisance, a wear across the stream, that stops the current, an obstruction to be removed by a purge of the law. The only gratification he gives his neighbours, is to let them see that he himself is as little the better for what he has, as they are. For he always looks like Lent; a sort of Lay-Minim. In some sense he may be compared to Pharaoh's lean kine; for all that he has does him no good. He commonly wears his clothes till they leave him or that nobody else can wear them. He affects to be

thought poor, to escape robbery and taxes; and by looking as if he wanted an alms, excuses himself from giving any. He ever goes late to markets, to cover buying the worst; but does it because that is cheapest. He lives on the offal. His life would be an insupportable punishment, to any temper but his own; and there is no greater torment to him on earth, than to live as other men do. But the misery of his pleasure is, that he is never satisfied with getting, and always in fear of losing what he cannot use.

How vilely has he lost himself, who becomes a slave to his servant, and exalts him to the dignity of his Maker! Gold is the God, the wife, the friend of the money-monger of the world. But in

### MARRIAGE

Do thou be wise; prefer the person before money, virtue before beauty, the mind before the body; then thou hast a wife, a friend, a companion, a second-self, one that bears an equal share with thee in all thy toils and troubles.

Choose one that measures her satisfaction, safety, and danger by thine; and of whom thou art as sure, as of thy most secret thoughts; a friend, as

well as a wife ; which indeed, a wife implies ; for she is but half a wife that is not, or is not capable of being such a friend.

Sexes make no difference ; since in souls there is none : and they are the subjects of friendship.

He that minds a body and not a soul, has not the better part of that relation ; and will consequently want the noblest comfort of a married life.

The satisfaction of our senses is low, short, and transient ; but the mind gives a more raised and extended pleasure, and is capable of a happiness founded upon reason ; not bounded and limited by the circumstances that bodies are confined to.

Here it is that we ought to search out our pleasure, where the field is large, and full of variety, and of an enduring nature ; sickness, poverty, or disgrace, not being able to shake it ; because it is not under the moving influences of worldly contingences.

The satisfaction of those that do so is in well-doing, and in the assurance they have of a future reward ; but they are best loved of those they love most ; and that they enjoy and value the liberty of their minds above that of their bodies : having the whole creation for their prospect ; the most noble

and wonderful works and providences of God, the histories of the ancients, and in them the actions and examples of the virtuous; and, lastly, themselves, their affairs, and family, to exercise their minds and friendship upon.

Nothing can be more entire and without reserve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and sincere; nothing more contented and constant, than such a couple; nor is there any greater temporal felicity than to be one of them.

Between a man and his wife, nothing ought to rule but love. Authority is for children and servants; yet not without sweetness.

As love ought to bring them together, so it is the best way to keep them well together.

Wherefore use not thy wife as a servant, whom thou wouldst, perhaps, have served seven years to have obtained.

A husband and wife that love and value one another, shew their children and servants that they should do so too. Others visibly lose their authority in their families by their contempt of one another, and teach their children to be unnatural by their own examples.

It is a general fault, not to be more careful to



preserve nature in children : who, at least in the second descent, hardly have a feeling of their relation : which must be an unpleasant reflection to affectionate parents.

Frequent visits, presents, intimate correspondence, and intermarriages within allowed bounds, are means of keeping up the concern and affection that nature requires from relations.

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### FRIENDSHIP.

FRIENDSHIP is the next pleasure we may hope for : and where we find it not at home, or have no home to find it in, we may seek it abroad. It is an union of spirits, a marriage of hearts, and the bond thereof virtue.

There can be no friendship where there is no freedom. Friendship loves a free air, and will not be penned up in straight and narrow inclosures. It will speak freely, and act so too ; and take nothing ill, where no ill is meant ; nay, where it is, it will easily forgive, and forget too, upon small acknowledgments.

Friends are true twins in soul ; they sympathize in every thing, and have the same love and aversion.

One is not happy without the other ; nor can either of them be miserable alone. As if they could change bodies, they take their turns in pain as well as in pleasure ; relieving one another in their most adverse conditions.

What one enjoys the other cannot want. Like the primitive Christians, they have all things in common, and no property, but in one another.



### QUALITIES OF A FRIEND.

A true friend unbosoms freely, advises justly, assists readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageously, and continues a friend unchangeably.

These being the qualities of a friend, we are to find them, before we choose one.

The covetous, the angry, the proud, the jealous, the talkative, cannot but make ill friends as well as false ones.

In short, choose a friend as thou dost a wife, till death separate you.

Yet be not a friend beyond the altar, but let virtue bound thy friendship ; else it is not friendship, but an evil confederacy.

If my brother, or kinsman, will be my friend, I ought to prefer him before a stranger; or I shew little duty or nature to my parents.

And as we ought to prefer our kindred in point of affection, so too in point of charity, if equally needing and deserving.

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### CAUTION AND CONDUCT.

BE not easily acquainted; lest finding reason to cool, thou shouldst make an enemy instead of a good neighbour.

Be reserved, but not sour; grave, but not formal; bold, but not rash; humble, but not servile; patient, not insensible; constant, not obstinate; cheerful, not light; rather sweet, than familiar; familiar, than intimate; and intimate with very few, and upon very good grounds.

Return the civilities thou receivest; and be ever grateful for favours.

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### REPARATION.

IF thou hast done an injury to another, rather own it than defend it. One way thou gainest forgiveness; the other, thou doublest the wrong and reckoning.

Some oppose honour to submission; but it can be no honour to maintain, what it is dishonourable to do.

To confess a fault that is none, out of fear, is indeed mean; but not to be afraid of standing in one, is brutish.

We should make more haste to right our neighbour, than we do to wrong him; and instead of being vindictive, we should leave him to judge of his own satisfaction.

True honour will pay treble damages, rather than justify one wrong by another.

In controversies, it is but too common for some persons to say, "Both are to blame," to excuse their own unconcernedness; which is a base neutrality. Others will cry, "They are both alike;" thereby involving the injured with the guilty, to mince the matter for the faulty, or cover their own injustice to the wronged party.

Fear and gain are great perverters of mankind: and where either prevails, the judgment is violated.

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### RULES OF CONVERSATION.

AVOID company, where it is not profitable or necessary: and on those occasions, speak little, and last.

Silence is wisdom where speaking is folly, and always safe.

Some are so foolish, as to interrupt and anticipate those that speak, instead of hearing and thinking before they answer: a practise as uncivil, as it is silly.

If thou thinkest twice before thou speakest once, thou wilt speak twice the better for it.

Better say nothing than not to the purpose. And to speak pertinently, consider both what is fit, and when it is fit to speak.

In all debates let truth be thy aim; not victory, or an unjust interest: and endeavour to gain, thy antagonist, rather than to expose him.

Give no advantage in argument, nor lose any that is offered. This is a benefit which arises from temper.

Do not use thyself to dispute against thine own judgment, to shew wit; lest it prepare thee to be too indifferent about what is right: nor against another man, to vex him, or for mere trial of skill; since to inform, or to be informed, ought to be the end of all conferences.

Men are too apt to be more concerned for their credit than for the cause.

## ELOQUENCE.

THERE is a truth and beauty in rhetoric; but it oftener serves ill turns than good ones.

Elegancy is a good mien and address given to matter, be it by proper or by figurative speech: where the words are apt, and allusions very natural, certainly it has a moving grace; but it is too artificial for simplicity, and oftentimes for truth. The danger is, lest it delude the weak; who, in such cases, may mistake the handmaid for the mistress, if not error for truth.

It is certain, truth is least indebted to it, because she has least need of it, and least uses it.

But it is a reprobable delicacy in men to despise truth in plain clothes.

Such luxuriants have but false appetites; like those gluttons, that by sauces force them, where they have no stomach: and sacrifice to their palate, not their health, which cannot be, without great vanity; nor that without some sin.

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 TEMPER.

NOTHING does reason more benefit, than the coolness of those that offer it: for truth often suffers

more by the heat of its defenders, than from the arguments of its opposers.

Zeal ever follows an appearance of truth, and the assured are too apt to be warm; but it is their weak side in argument: zeal being better shewn against sin, than persons, or their mistakes.

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### TRUTH.

WHERE thou art obliged to speak, be sure to speak the truth: for equivocation is half-way to lying; as lying, the whole way to hell.

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### JUSTICE.

BELIEVE nothing against another, but upon good authority: nor report what may hurt another, unless it be a greater hurt to others to conceal it.

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### SECRECY.

It is wise not to seek a secret: and honest not to reveal one.

Trust thyself only, and another shall not betray thee.

Openness has the mischief, though not the malice of treachery.

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### COMPLACENCY.

NEVER assent merely to please others. For that is, besides flattery, often-times untruth; and discovers a mind liable to be servile and base: nor contradict to vex others; for that shews an ill-temper, and provokes, but profits nobody.

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### SHIFTS.

Do not accuse others to excuse thyself; for that is neither generous nor just. But let sincerity and ingenuosness be thy refuge, rather than craft and falsehood: for cunning borders very near upon knavery.

Wisdom never uses nor wants it. Cunning to wisdom, is as an ape to a man.

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### INTEREST.

INTEREST has the security, though not the virtue, of a principle. As the world goes, it is the surest side; for men daily leave both relations and religion to follow it.



It is an odd sight, but a very common one, that families and nations of cross religions and humours unite against those of their own, where they find an interest to do it.

We are tied down by our senses to this world; and where that is in question, it can be none with worldly men, whether they should not forsake all other considerations for it.

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### INQUIRY.

HAVE a care of vulgar errors. Dislike, as well as allow, reasonably.

Inquiry is human; blind obedience is brutal. Truth never loses by the one, but often suffers by the other.

The most useful truths are the plainest: and while we keep to them, our differences cannot rise high.

There may be a wantonness in search, as well as a stupidity in trusting. It is great wisdom equally to avoid the extremes.

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### RIGHT TIMING.

Do nothing improperly. Some are witty, kind,

cold, angry, easy, stiff, jealous, careless, cautious, confident, close, open, but all in the wrong place.

It is ill mistaking, where the matter is of importance.

It is not enough that the thing be right, if it be not fit to be done. If not prudent, though just, it is not adviseable. He that loses by getting, had better lose than get.

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### KNOWLEDGE.

KNOWLEDGE is the treasure, but judgment the treasurer of a wise man.

He that has more knowledge than judgment, is made for another man's use, more than for his own.

That cannot be a good constitution, where the appetite is great, and the digestion weak.

There are some men, like dictionaries, to be looked into upon occasion ; but who have no connection, and are little entertaining.

Less knowledge than judgment will always have the advantage over the injudicious knowing man.

A wise man makes what he learns his own ; the other shews he is but a copy, or a collection at most.

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## WIT.

WIT is a happy and striking way of expressing a thought.

It is not often though it be lively and mantling, that it carries a great body with it.

Wit is therefore fitter for diversion than business, being more grateful to the fancy than the judgment.

Less judgment than wit, is more sail than ballast.

Yet it must be confessed, that wit gives an edge to sense, and recommends it extremely.

Where judgment has wit to express it, there is the best orator.

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 OBEDIENCE TO PARENTS.

IF thou wouldst be obeyed, being a father ; being a son, be obedient.

He that begets thee, owns thee ; and has a natural right over thee.

Next to God, are thy parents ; next to them, the magistrate.

Remember that thou art not more indebted to thy parents for thy nature, than for their love and care.

Rebellion therefore in children was made death

by God's law, and in the people, the next sin to idolatry, which is renouncing of God, the great parent of all.

Obedience to parents is not only our duty, but our interest. If we received our life from them, we prolong it by obeying them; for obedience is the first commandment with promise.

The obligation is as indissoluble as the relation.

If we must not disobey God to obey them, at least we must let them see, that there is nothing else in our refusal; for some unjust commands cannot excuse the general neglect of our duty. They will be our parents, and we must be their children still: and if we cannot act for them against God, neither can we act against them for ourselves, or for any thing else.



### BEARING.

A man of business must put up many affronts if he loves his own quiet.

We must not pretend to see all that we see, if we would be easy.

It were endless to dispute upon every thing that is disputable.

A vindictive temper is not only uneasy to others, but to them that have it.

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### PROMISING.

RARELY promise : but, if lawful, constantly perform.

Hasty resolutions are of the nature of vows ; and to be equally avoided.

“ I will never do this,” says one, yet does it. “ I am resolved to do that,” says another ; but flags upon second thoughts : or does it, though awkwardly, for his word’s sake ; as if it were worse to break his word, than to do amiss in keeping it.

Wear none of thine own chains ; but keep free, whilst thou art free.

To lay thyself under resolutions that cannot be well made, and are yet worse if performed, is an effect of passion, which wisdom corrects.

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### FIDELITY.

AVOID, all thou canst, being entrusted ; but do thy utmost to discharge the trust thou hast undertaken : for carelessness is injurious, if not unjust.

The glory of a servant is fidelity; which cannot be without diligence, as well as truth.

Fidelity has enfranchised slaves, and adopted servants to be sons.

Reward a good servant well: and rather quit than disquiet thyself with an ill one.

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### MASTER.

Mix kindness with authority: and rule more by discretion than rigour.

If thy servant be faulty, strive rather to convince him of his error, than discover thy passion: and when he is sensible forgive him.

Remember he is thy fellow-creature; and that God's goodness, not thy merit, has made the difference betwixt thee and him.

Let not thy children domineer over thy servants; nor suffer thy servants to slight thy children. -

Suppress tales in the general; but where a matter requires notice, encourage the complaint, and right the aggrieved.

If a child, he ought to entreat, and not to command; and if a servant, to comply, where he does not obey.

Though there should be but one master and mis-

tress in a family, yet servants should know that children have the reversion.

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### SERVANT.

INDULGE not thy master's children, in unseemly things, nor refuse them what is fitting: for the one is the highest unfaithfulness, and the other indiscretion, as well as disrespect.

Do thine own work honestly and cheerfully; and when that is done, help thy fellow, that so another time he may help thee.

If thou wilt be a good servant, thou must be true; and thou canst not be true, if thou defraudest thy master.

A master may be defrauded in many ways by a servant: as in time, care, pains, money, trust.

But, a true servant is the contrary: he is diligent, careful, trusty. He tells no tales, reveals no secrets, refuses no pains, is not to be tempted by gain, or awed by fear, to unfaithfulness.

Such a servant serves God, in serving his master; and has double wages for his work, to wit, here and hereafter.

## JEALOUSY.

BE not fancifully jealous, for that is foolish; as to be reasonably so is wise.

He that superfines upon other men's actions, cozens himself, as well as injures them.

To be very subtle and scrupulous in business is as hurtful, as being over confident and secure.

In difficult cases such a temper is timorous, and in dispatch, irresolute.

Experience is a safe guide; and a practical head is a great happiness in business.

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 POSTERITY.

WE are too careless of posterity; not considering that as they are, so the next generation will be.

If we would amend the world, we should mend ourselves; and teach our children to be, not what we are, but what they should be.

We are too apt to awaken and tune up their passions by the example of our own; and to teach them to be pleased, not with what is best, but with what pleases best.

It is our duty, and ought to be our care, to ward against that passion in them, which is more espe-



cially our own weakness and affliction : for we are in great measure accountable for them, as well as for ourselves.

We are in this, also, true turners of the world upside down : for money is first, and virtue last, and least in our care.

It is not how we leave our children, but what we leave them.

To be sure, virtue is but a supplement, and not a principal, in their portion and character ! and therefore we see so little wisdom or goodness among the rich, in proportion to their wealth.

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### A COUNTRY LIFE.

THE country life is to be preferred, for there we see the works of God ; but in cities, little else but the works of men : and the one makes a better subject for our contemplation than the other.

As puppets are to men, and babies to children ; so is man's workmanship to God's : we are the picture, he the reality.

God's works declare his power, wisdom, and goodness ; but man's works, for the most part, his pride, folly, and excess. The one is for use, the other, chiefly, for ostentation and lust.

The country is both the philosopher's garden and library, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

It is his food, as well as study; and gives him life as well as learning.

A sweet and natural retreat from noise and talk, and allows opportunity for reflection, and gives the best subjects for it.

In short, it is an original, and the knowledge and improvement of it man's oldest business and trade, and the best he can be of.

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### ART AND PROJECT.

**ART** is good, where it is beneficial. Socrates wisely bounded his knowledge and instruction by practice.

Have a care, therefore, of projects; and yet despise nothing rashly, or in the lump.

Ingenuity, as well as religion, sometimes suffers between two thieves: pretenders and despisers.

Though injudicious and dishonest projectors often discredit art; yet the most useful and extraordinary inventions have not, at first, escaped the scorn of ignorance; as their authors rarely have cracking of their heads, or breaking of their backs.

Undertake no experiment in speculation, that appears not true in art; nor then, at thine own cost, if costly or hazardous in making.

As many hands make light work; so several purses make cheap experiments.

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### INDUSTRY.

INDUSTRY is certainly very commendable, and supplies the want of parts.

Patience and diligence, like faith, remove mountains.

Never give out while there is hope; but hope not beyond reason: for that shews more desire than judgment.

It is a profitable wisdom, to know when we have done enough: much time and pains are spared, in not flattering ourselves against probabilities.

---

### TEMPORAL HAPPINESS.

Do good with what thou hast, or it will do thee no good.

Seek not to be rich, but happy. The one lies in bags, the other in content; which wealth can never give.

We are apt to call things by wrong names. We will have prosperity to be happiness, and adversity to be misery ; though that is the school of wisdom, and oftentimes the way to eternal happiness.

If thou wouldst be happy, bring thy mind to thy condition, and have an indifferency for more than what is sufficient.

Have but little to do, and do it thyself : and do to others as thou wouldst have them do to thee : so thou canst not fail of temporal felicity.

The generality are the worse for their plenty. The voluptuous consumes it, the miser hides it ; it is the good man that uses it, and to good purposes. But such are hardly found among the prosperous.

Be rather bountiful than expensive.

Neither make nor go to feasts, but let the laborious poor bless thee at home in their solitary cottages.

Never voluntarily want what thou hast in possession ; nor so spend it, as to involve thyself in want unavoidable.

Be not tempted to presume by success ; for many, that have got largely, have lost all by coveting to get more.

To hazard much to get much, has more of avarice than wisdom.

It is great prudence, both to bound and use prosperity.

Too few know when they have enough; and fewer know how to employ it.'

It is equally advisable not to part lightly with what is hardly gotten, and not to shut up closely what flows in freely.

Act not the shark upon thy neighbour; nor take advantage of the ignorance, prodigality, or necessity of any one: for that is next door to a fraud, and, at best, makes but an unblest gain.

It is oftentimes the judgment of God upon greedy rich men, that he suffers them to push on their desires of wealth to the excess of over-reaching, grinding, or oppression, which poisons all they have gotten: so that it commonly runs away as fast, and by as bad ways, as it was heaped up together.

---

## RESPECT.

NEVER esteem any man, or thyself, the more for money; nor think the meaner of thyself, or another, for want of it: virtue being the just reason of respecting, and the want of it of slighting any one.

A man, like a watch, is to be valued for his goings.

He that prefers him on other accounts, bows to an idol.

Unless virtue guide us, our choice must be wrong.

An able bad man is an ill instrument, and to be shunned as the plague.

Be not deceived with the first appearances of things ; but give thyself time to be in the right.

Show is not substance : realities govern wise men.

Have a care, therefore, where there is more sail than ballast.

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### HAZARD.

IN all business, it is best to put nothing to hazard : but where it is unavoidable, be not rash, but firm and resigned.

We should not be troubled for what we cannot help : but if it were our fault, let it be so no more. Amendment is repentance, if not reparation.

As a desperate game needs an able gamester ; so consideration often would prevent, what the best skill in the world cannot recover.

Where the probability of advantage exceeds not that of loss, wisdom never adventures.

To shoot well flying, is well; but to choose it, has more of vanity than judgment.

To be dexterous in danger, is a virtue; but to court danger to show it, is weakness.

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### DETRACTION.

HAVE a care of that base evil, detraction. It is the fruit of envy, as that is of pride, the immediate offspring of the devil, who of an angel, a Lucifer, a son of the morning, made himself a serpent, a devil, a Beelzebub, and all that is obnoxious to the Eternal Goodness.

Virtue is not secure against envy. Men will lessen what they will not imitate.

Dislike what deserves it; but never hate, for that is of the nature of malice; which is almost ever to persons, not things; and is one of the blackest qualities sin begets in the soul.

---

### MODERATION.

It were an happy day, if men could bound and qualify their resentments with charity to the offender: for then our anger would be without sin, and better convict and edify the guilty; which alone can make it lawful.

Not to be provoked is best ; but if moved, never correct till the fume is spent ; for every stroke our fury strikes, is sure to hit ourselves at last.

If we did but observe the allowances our reason makes upon reflection, when our passion is over, we could not want a rule how to behave ourselves again on the like occasions.

We are more prone to complain than redress, and to censure than excuse.

It is next to unpardonable, that we can so often blame what we will not once mend. It shows that we know, but will not do, our Master's will.

They that censure, should practice ; or else, let them have the first stone, and the last too.

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### TRICK.

NOTHING needs a trick, but a trick ; sincerity loaths one.

We must take care to do things rightly : for a just sentence may be unjustly executed.

Circumstances give great light to true judgment, if well weighed.

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### PASSION.

PASSION is a sort of fever in the mind, which ever leaves us weaker than it found us.



But, being intermitting, to be sure it is curable with care.

It, more than any thing, deprives us of the use of our judgment ; for it raises a dust very hard to see through.

Like wine, whose lees fly up, being jogged, it is too muddy to drink.

It may not unfitly be termed the mob of the man, that commits a riot on his reason.

I have oftentimes thought, that a passionate man is like a weak spring, that cannot stand long locked.

And it is as true, that those things are unfit for use, that cannot bear small knocks without breaking.

He that will not hear cannot judge ; and he that cannot bear contradiction, may with all his wit, miss the mark.

Objection and debate sift out truth ; which needs temper as well as judgment.

But above all, observe it in resentments ; for there passion is most extravagant.

Never chide for anger, but instruction.

He that corrects out of passion, raises revenge sooner than repentance.

It has more of wantonness than wisdom ; and resembles those that eat to please their palate rather than their appetite.

It is the difference between a wise and a weak man; this judges by the lump, that by parts, and their connection.

The Greeks used to say, "All cases are governed by their circumstances." The same thing may be well and ill, as they change or vary the matter.

A man's strength is shewn by his bearing. *Bonum agere, et mali pati, regis est.*

---

### PERSONAL CAUTION.

REFLECT without malice, but never without need.

Despise no body, nor any condition; lest it come to be thine own.

Never rail, nor taunt. The one is rude, the other is scornful, and both evil.

Be not provoked by injuries, to commit them.

Upbraid only ingratitude.

Haste makes work, which caution prevents.

Tempt no man; lest thou fall for it.

Have a care of presuming upon after-games; for if that miss, all is gone.

Opportunities should never be lost, because they can hardly be regained.

It is well to cure, but better to prevent a distem-

per. The first shows more skill, but the last more wisdom.

Never make a trial of skill in difficult or hazardous cases.

Refuse not to be informed: for that shews pride or stupidity.

Humility and knowledge in poor clothes, excel pride and ignorance in costly attire.

Neither despise, nor oppose, what thou dost not understand.

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### BALANCE.

WE must not be concerned above the value of the thing that engages us; nor raised above reason, in maintaining what we think reasonable.

It is too common an error, to invert the order of things, by making an end of that which is a means, and a means of that which is an end.

Religion and government escape not this mischief: the first is too often made a means, instead of an end, the other an end, instead of a means.

Thus men seek wealth, rather than subsistence; and the end of clothes is the last reason for their use. Nor is the satisfying of our appetite our end in eating, so much as the pleasing our

palate. The like may also be said of building, furniture, &c. where the man rules not the beast, and appetite submits not to reason.

It is great wisdom to proportion our esteem to the nature of the thing; for as that way things will not be undervalued, so neither will they engage us above their intrinsic worth.

If we suffer little things to have great hold upon us, we shall be as much transported for them, as if they deserved it.

It is an old proverb, *Maxima bella ex levissimis causis*; The greatest feuds have had the smallest beginnings.

No matter what the subject of the dispute be, but what place we give it in our minds; for that governs our concern and resentment.

It is one of the most fatal errors of our lives, when we spoil a good cause by an ill management: and it is not impossible but we may mean well in an ill business; but that will not defend it.

If we are but sure the end is right, we are too apt to gallop over all bounds to compass it: not considering that lawful ends may be very unlawfully attained.

Let us be careful to take just ways to compass

just things ; that they may last in their benefits to us.

There is a troublesome humour some men have, that if they may not lead, they will not follow ; but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own way, though otherwise very desirable.

This comes of an overfulness of ourselves, and shews we are more concerned for praise, than the success of what we think a good thing.

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### POPULARITY.

AFFECT not to be seen, and men will less see thy weakness.

They that shew more than they are, raise an expectation they cannot answer ; and so lose their credit as soon as they are found out.

Avoid popularity. It has many snares, and no real benefit to thyself ; and uncertainty to others.

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### PRIVACY.

REMEMBER the proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*,—They are happy that live retiredly.

If this be true, princes and their grandees, of all

men, are the unhappiest; for they live least alone : and they that must be enjoyed by every body, can never enjoy themselves as they should.

It is the advantage little men have upon them : they can be private, and have leisure for family comforts, which are the greatest worldly contents men can enjoy.

But they that place pleasure in greatness, seek it there ; and, we see, rule is as much the ambition of some natures, as privacy is the choice of others.

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## GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT has many shapes ; but it is sovereignty, though not freedom, in all of them.

*Rex* and *Tyrannus* are very different characters : one rules his people by laws, to which they consent ; the other by his absolute will and power. That is called freedom ; this, tyranny.

The first is endangered by the ambition of the populace, which shakes the constitution ; the other by an ill administration, which hazards the tyrant and his family.

It is great wisdom, in princes of both sorts, not to strain points too high with their people ; for

whether the people have a right to oppose them or not, they are ever sure to attempt it, when things are carried too far : though the remedy oftentimes proves worse than the disease.

Happy that king who is great by justice, and that people who are free by obedience.

Where the ruler is just, he may be strict ; else it is two to one it turns upon him : and though he should prevail, he can be no gainer, where his people are the losers.

Princes must not have passions in government, nor resent beyond interest and religion.

Where example keeps pace with authority, power hardly fails to be obeyed, and magistrates to be honored.

Let the people think they govern, and they will be governed.

This cannot fail, if those they trust are trusted.

That prince who is just to them in great things, and humours them oftentimes in small ones, is sure to have and keep them from all the world.

For the people is the politic wife of the prince, that may be better managed by wisdom, than ruled by force.

But where the magistrate is partial, and serves

ill turns, he loses his authority with the people, and gives the populace opportunity to gratify their ambition: and so lays a stumbling-block for his people to fall.

It is true, that where a subject is more popular than the prince, the prince is in danger; but it is as true, that it is his own fault: for nobody has the like means, interest, or reason, to be popular, as he.

It is an unaccountable thing, that some princes incline rather to be feared than loved, when they see, that fear does not oftener secure a prince, against the dissatisfaction of his people, than love makes a subject too many for such a prince.

Certainly, service upon inclination is like to go farther than obedience upon compulsion.

The Romans had a just sense of this, when they placed Optimus before Maximus, to their most illustrious captains and Cæsars.

Besides, experience tells us that goodness raises a nobler passion in the soul, and gives a better sense of duty, than severity.

What did Pharaoh get by increasing the Israelites' task? Ruin to himself in the end.

Kings chiefly in this, should imitate God; their mercy should be above all their works.

The difference between the prince and the pea-



sant is in this world ; but a temper ought to be observed by him that has the advantage here. because of the judgment of the next.

The end of every thing should direct the means : now that of government being the good of the whole, nothing less should be the aim of the prince.

As often as rulers endeavour to attain just ends by just mediums, they are sure of a quiet and easy government ; and as sure of convulsions, where the nature of things is violated, and their order overruled.

It is certain, princes ought to have great allowances made them for faults in government, since they see by other people's eyes, and hear by their ears : but ministers of state, their immediate confidants, and instruments, have much to answer for, if, to gratify private passions, they misguide the prince to do public injury.

Ministers of state should undertake their posts at their peril. If princes overrule them let them show the law, and humbly resign ; if fear, gain, or flattery prevail, let them answer it to the law.

The prince cannot be preserved, but where the minister is punishable ; for people, as well as princes, will not endure "imperium in imperio."

If ministers are weak or ill men, and so spoil their places, it is the prince's fault that chose them; but if their places spoil them, it is their own fault to be made worse by them.

It is but just that those that reign by their princes, should suffer for their princes: for it is a safe and necessary maxim, not to shift hands in government, while the heads are in being that should answer for them.

And yet it were intolerable to be a minister of state, if every body may be accuser and judge.

Let, therefore, the false accuser no more escape an exemplary punishment, than the guilty minister.

For it profanes government to have the credit of the leading men in it subject to vulgar censure, which is often ill grounded.

The safety of a prince, therefore, consists in a well chosen council: and that only can be said to be so, where the persons that compose it are qualified for the business that comes before them.

Who would send to a tallor to make a lock, or to a smith to make a suit of clothes?

Let there be merchants for trade, seamen for the admiralty, travellers for foreign affairs, some of the leading men of the country for home business, and

common and civil lawyers to advise of legality and right, who should always keep to the strict rules of law.

Three things contribute much to ruin government ; looseness, oppression, and envy.

Where the reins of government are too slack, there the manners of the people are corrupted : and that destroys industry, begets effeminacy, and provokes heaven against it.

Oppression makes a poor country, and a desperate people, who always wait an opportunity to change.

“ He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God ;” said an old and wise king.

Envy disturbs and distracts government, clogs the wheels, and perplexes the administration ; and nothing contribtues more to this disorder, than a partial distribution of rewards and punishments in the sovereign.

As it is not reasonable that men should be compelled to serve ; so those that have employments should not be endured to leave them humoursomely.

Where the state intends a man no affront, he should not affront the state.

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## A PRIVATE LIFE.

A PRIVATE life is to be preferred; the honor and gain of public posts bearing no proportion with the comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other servile and noisy.

It was a great answer of the Shunamite woman, "I dwell among my own people."

They that live of their own, neither need, nor often list, to wear the livery of the public.

Their subsistence is not during pleasure, nor have they patrons to please or present.

If they are not advanced neither can they be disgraced; and as they know not the smiles of majesty, so they feel not the frowns of greatness, or the effects of envy.

If they want the pleasures of a court, they also escape the temptations of it.

Private men, in fine, are so much their own, that, paying common dues, they are sovereigns of all the rest.

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## A PUBLIC LIFE.

YET the public must and will be served; and they that do it well, deserve public marks of honor and profit.

To do so, men must have public minds, as well as salaries; or they will serve private ends at the public cost.

Governments can never be well administered, but where those entrusted make conscience of well discharging their places.

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### QUALIFICATIONS.

FIVE things are requisite to a good officer; ability, clean hands, despatch, patience, and impartiality.

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### CAPACITY,

HE that understands not his employment, whatever else he knows, must be unfit for it; and the public suffer by his inexpertness.

They that are able should be just too; or the government may be the worse for their capacity.

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### CLEAN HANDS.

COVETOUSNESS in such men prompts them to prostitute the public for gain.

The taking of a bribe, or gratuity, should be

punished with as severe penalties as the defrauding of the state.

Let men have sufficient salaries, and exceed them at their peril.

It is a dishonour to government, that its officers should live of benevolence; as it ought to be infamous for officers to dishonour the public, by being twice paid for the same business.

But to be paid, and not to do business, is rank oppression.

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### DESPATCH.

DESPATCH is a great and good quality in an officer, where duty, not gain, excites it. But of this too many make their private market, and overplus to their wages. Thus the salary is for doing, and the bribe for despatching the business; as if business could be done before it were despatched; or they were to be paid apart, one by the government, the other by the party.

Despatch is as much the duty of an officer, as doing; and very much the honour of the government he serves.

Delays have been more injurious than direct injustice.

They too often starve those they dare not deny.

The very winner is made a loser, because he pays twice for his own; like those that purchase estates, mortgaged before to the full value.

Our law says well,—“To delay justice is injustice.”

Not to have a right, and not to come at it, differ little.

Refusal, or despatch, is the duty and wisdom of a good officer.

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### PATIENCE.

PATIENCE is a virtue every where; but it shines with greatest lustre in the men of government.

Some are so proud or testy, they will not hear what they should redress.

Others so weak, they sink or burst under the weight of their office; though they can lightly run away with the salary of it.

Business can never be well done, that is not well understood: which cannot be without patience.

It is cruelty, indeed, not to give the unhappy a hearing, whom we ought to help; but it is the top of oppression to brow-beat the humble and modest miserable, when they seek relief.

Some, it is true, are unreasonable in their desires and hopes; but then we should inform, not rail at and reject them.

It is, therefore, as great an instance of wisdom as a man in business can give, to be patient under the impertinencies and contradictions that attend it.

Method goes far to prevent trouble in business: for it makes the task easy, hinders confusion, saves abundance of time, and instructs those that have business depending, what to do, and what to hope.

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### IMPARTIALITY.

IMPARTIALITY, though it be the last, is not the least part of the character of a good magistrate.

It is noted as a fault in holy writ, even to regard the *poor* in judgment; how much more the *rich*!

If our passions must not sway us; less should our fears, profits, or prejudices,

Justice is justly represented blind, because she sees no difference in the parties concerned.

She has but one scale and weight, for rich and poor, great and small.

Her sentence is not guided by the person, but by the cause.



The impartial judge, in judgment, knows nothing but the law; the prince, no more than the peasant; his kindred, than a stranger. Nay, his enemy is sure to be upon equal terms with his friend, when he is upon the bench.

Impartiality is the life of justice, as justice is of government.

Nor is it only a benefit to the state; for private families cannot subsist comfortably without it.

Parents that are partial, are ill obeyed by their children; and partial masters not better served by their servants.

Partiality is always indirect, if not dishonest; for it shows a bias, where reason would have none; if not an injury, which justice every where forbids.

As it makes favourites without reason, so it uses no reason in judging of actions: confirming the proverb, "The crow thinks her own bird the fairest."

What some see to be no fault in one, they will have criminal in another.

Nay, how ugly do those failings look to us in the persons of others, which yet we see not in ourselves.

And but too common it is, for some people not to know their own maxims and principles in the

mouths of other men, when they give occasion to use them.

Partiality corrupts our judgment of persons and things, of ourselves and others.

It contributes more than any thing else to factions in the government, and feuds in families.

It is a prodigal passion, that seldom returns till it is hunger-bit, and disappointments bring it within bounds.

And yet we may be indifferent to a fault.

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### INDIFFERENCE.

INDIFFERENCE is good in judgment, but bad in relation, and stark naught in religion.

And even in judgment, our indifference must be to the persons, not to the causes ; for one is certainly right.

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### NEUTRALITY.

NEUTRALITY is something else than indifference ; and yet of kin to it too.

A judge ought to be indifferent ; and yet he cannot be said to be neutral.

The one being to be even in judgment, and the other not to meddle at all.

And where it is lawful, it is certainly best to be neutral.

He that espouses parties, can hardly divorce himself from their fate ; and more fall with their party, than rise with it.

A wise neutral joins with neither ; but uses both, as his honest interest leads him.

A neutral only has room to be a peace-maker : for being of neither side, he has the means of mediating a reconciliation of both.

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### A PARTY.

AND yet where right or religion gives a call, a neutral must be a coward or a hypocrite.

In such cases we should never be backward, nor yet mistaken.

When our right or our religion is in question, then is the fittest time to assert it.

Nor must we always be neutral, where our neighbour is concerned : for though meddling is a fault, helping is a duty.

We have a call to do good, as often as we have the power and occasion.

If Heathens could say, "We are not born for ourselves;" surely Christians should practice it.

They are taught so by His example, as well as doctrine, from whom they have borrowed their name.

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### OSTENTATION.

Do what good thou canst unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt than seen.

The humble, in the parable of the day of judgment, forgot their good works, "Lord, *when* did we so and so?"

He that does good for good's sake, seeks neither praise nor reward, though sure of both at last.

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### COMPLETE VIRTUE.

CONTENT not thyself that thou art virtuous in the general: for one link being wanting the chain is defective,

Perhaps thou art rather innocent than virtuous, and owest more to thy constitution than thy religion.

To be innocent is to be not guilty ; but to be virtuous is to overcome our evil inclinations.

If thou hast not conquered thyself in that which is thy own particular weakness, thou hast no title to virtue, though thou art free from other men's vices.

For a covetous man to inveigh against prodigality, an atheist against idolatry, a tyrant against rebellion, or a liar against forgery, and a drunkard against intemperance, is for the pot to call the kettle black.

Such reproof would have but little success, because it would carry but little authority with it.

If thou wouldst conquer thy weakness, thou must never gratify it.

No man is compelled to evil ; his consent only makes it his.

It is no sin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

What man in his right mind, would conspire his own hurt ? Men are beside themselves, when they transgress against their convictions.

If thou wouldst not sin, do not desire ; if thou wouldst not lust, do not embrace the temptation ; no, not look at it, nor think of it.

Thou wouldst take much pains to save thy body :  
take some, prithee, to save thy soul.

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## RELIGION.

RELIGION is the fear of God, and its demonstration good works ; and faith is the root of both : “ for without faith we cannot please God ;” nor can we fear what we do not believe.

The devils also believe and know abundantly ; but in this is the difference, their faith works not by love, nor their knowledge by obedience ; and therefore they are never the better for them. And if ours be such, we shall be of their church not of Christ's ; for as the head is, so must the body be.

He was holy, humble, harmless, meek, and merciful, when among us ; to teach us what we should be when he was gone : and yet he is among us still, and in us too, a living and perpetual preacher of the same grace, by his Spirit in our consciences.

A minister of the gospel ought to be one of Christ's making, if he would pass for one of Christ's ministers.

And if he be one of his making, he knows and does, as well as believes.

That minister, whose life is not the model of his doctrine, is a babbler rather than a preacher—a quack rather than a physician of value.

Of old time they were made ministers by the Holy Ghost: and the more that is an ingredient now, the fitter they are for that work.

Running streams are not so apt to corrupt as standing water, nor itinerent, as settled preachers: but they are not to run before they are sent.

As they freely receive from Christ, so they give.

They will not make that a trade, which they know ought not, in conscience, to be one.

Yet there is no fear of their living, that design not to live by it.

The humble and true teacher meets with more than he expects.

He accounts content with godliness great gain; and he therefore seeks not to make a gain of godliness.

As the ministers of Christ are made by him, and are like him, so they beget people into the same likeness.

To be like Christ, then, is to be a Christian. And regeneration is the only way to the kingdom of God, which we pray for.

Let us to-day, therefore, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts, who speaks to us many ways:— in the Scriptures, in our hearts, by his servants and providences—and the sum of all his holiness and charity.

St. James gives a short draft of the matter, but very full and teaching:—“ Pure religion, and undefiled before God the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world:” which is comprised in these two words, charity and piety.

They who truly make these things their aim, will find them their attainment; and, with them, the peace that follows so excellent a condition.

Amuse not thyself, therefore, with the numerous opinions of the world; nor value thyself upon verbal orthodoxy, philosophy, or thy skill in tongues, or knowledge of the fathers; (too much the business and vanity of the world) but in this rejoice, “ That thou knowest God, that is the Lord, who exerciseth loving-kindness, and judgment, and righteousness in the earth.”

Public worship is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good example. But we must know, that God is not tied to time or place, who is every where at the same time; and



this we shall know, as far as we are capable, if, wherever we are, our desires are to be with him.

Serving God, people generally confine to acts of public and private worship: and those the more zealous do often repeat, in hopes of acceptance.

But, if we consider that God is an Infinite Spirit, and, as such, every where; and that our Saviour has taught us, that he will be worshipped in spirit and in truth, we shall see the shortness of such a notion.

For serving God concerns the frame of our spirits, in the whole course of our lives; in every occasion we have, in which we may show our love to his law.

For as men in battle are continually in the way of shot, so we, in this world, are ever within the reach of temptation: and herein do we serve God, if we avoid what we are forbid, as well as do what he commands.

God is better served in resisting a temptation to evil than in many formal prayers.

This is but twice or thrice a day; but that every hour and moment of the day. So much more is our continual watch, than our evening and morning devotion.

Wouldst thou then serve God? Do not that

alone, which thou wouldst not that another should see thee do.

Do not take God's name in vain, or disobey thy parents, or wrong thy neighbour, or commit adultery, even in thine heart.

Neither be vain, lascivious, proud, drunken, revengeful, or angry; nor lie, detract, backbite, overreach, oppress, deceive or betray; but watch vigorously against all temptations to these things, as knowing that God is present, the overseer of all thy ways and most inward thoughts, and the avenger of his own law upon the disobedient; and thus thou wilt acceptably serve God.

Is it not reasonable, if we expect the acknowledgments of those to whom we are bountiful, that we should reverently pay ours to God, our most munificent and constant benefactor?

The world represents a rare and sumptuous palace; mankind, the great family in it; and God, the might Lord and Master of it.

We are all sensible what a stately seat it is; the heavens adorned with so many glorious luminaries; and the earth with groves, plains, valleys, hills, fountains, ponds, lakes, and rivers; and variety of fruits and creatures for food, pleasure, and profit:

in short, how noble a house he keeps, and the plenty, and variety, and excellency of his table; his orders, seasons, and suitableness of every time and thing. But we must be as sensible, or at least ought to be, what careless and idle servants we are, and how short and disproportionable our behaviour is to his bounty and goodness; how long he bears, how often he reprieves and forgives us: how, notwithstanding our breach of promises, and repeated neglects, he has not yet been provoked to break up house, and send us to shift for ourselves. Should not this great goodness raise a due sense in us of our undutifulness, and a resolution to alter our course and mend our manners, that we may be, for the future, more worthy communicants at our good and great Master's table? Especially since it is not more certain that we deserve his displeasure, than that we shall feel it, if we continue to be unprofitable servants.

But though God has replenished this world with abundance of good things for man's life and comfort, yet they are all but imperfect goods. He only is the perfect good, to whom they point. But, alas! men cannot see him for them; though they should always see him in them.

I have often wondered at the unaccountableness of man in this, among other things, that, though he loves changes so well, he should care so little to hear or think of his last, great, and, if he pleases, his best change.

Being, as to our bodies, composed of changeable elements, we, with the world, are made up of, and subsist by, revolution; but our souls being of another and nobler nature, we should seek our rest in a more enduring habitation.

The truest end of life is to know the life that never ends.

He that makes this his care, will find it his crown at last.

Life were else a misery, rather than a pleasure; a judgment, and not a blessing.

For to know, regret, and resent, to desire, hope, and fear, more than a beast, and not live beyond him, is to make a man less than a beast.

It is the amends of a short and troublesome life, that doing good, and suffering ill, entitles man to one longer and better.

This ever raises the good man's hope, and gives him tastes beyond this world.

As it is his aim, so none else can hit the mark.

Many make it their speculation, but it is the good man's practice.

His work keeps pace with his life, and so he leaves nothing to be done when he dies.

And he that lives to live for ever, never fears dying.

Nor can the means be terrible to him that heartily believes the end.

For though death be a dark passage, it leads to immortality; and that is recompence enough for the suffering of it.

And yet faith lights us even through the grave; being the evidence of things not seen.

And this is the comfort of the good, that the grave cannot hold them, and that they live as soon as they die.

For death is no more than a turning us over from time to eternity.

Nor can there be a revolution without it; for it supposes the dissolution of one form, in order to the succession of another.

Death, then, being the way and condition of life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

Let us, then, not cozen ourselves with the shells and husks of things; nor prefer form to power, nor

shadows to substance: pictures of bread will not satisfy hunger, nor those of devotion please God.

This world is a form; our bodies are forms; and no visible acts of devotion can be without forms. But yet the less form in religion, the better; for God is a spirit, and the more mental our worship, the more adequate it is to the nature of God; the more silent, the more suitable to the language of a spirit.

Words are for others, not for ourselves: nor for God, who hears not as bodies do, but as spirits should.

If we would know this dialect, we must learn of the divine principle in us; as we hear the dictates of that, so God hears us.

There we may see him, too, in all his attributes; though but in little, yet as much as we can apprehend or bear; for as he is in himself, he is incomprehensible, and “dwelleth in that light no eye can approach.” But in his image we may behold his glory; enough to exalt our apprehensions of God; and to instruct us in that worship which pleaseth him.

Men may tire themselves in a labyrinth of search, and talk of God; but if we would know him

indeed, it must be from the impressions we receive of him, and the softer our hearts are, the deeper and livelier those will be upon us.

If he has made us sensible of his justice, by his reproof; of his patience, by his forbearance; of his mercy, by his forgiveness; of his holiness, by the sanctification of our hearts through the spirit; we have a grounded knowledge of God.—This is experience, that speculation; this enjoyment, that report. In short, this is undeniable evidence, with the realities of religion, and will stand all winds and weathers.

As our faith, so our devotion, should be lively. Cold meat will not serve at those repasts.

It is a coal from God's altar must kindle our fire: and without fire, true fire, no acceptable sacrifice.

“Open thou my lips, and then,” said the royal prophet, “my mouth shall praise God.” But not till then.

The preparation of the heart, as well as the answer of the tongue, is of the Lord: and to have it, our prayers must be powerful, and our worship grateful.

Let us choose, therefore, to commune where there is the warmest sense of religion; where devotion

exceeds formality, and practice most corresponds with profession ; and where there is, at least, as much charity as zeal : for where this society is to be found, there shall we find the church of God.

As good, so ill men, are all of a church ; and every body knows who must be the head of it.

The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout souls, are every where of one religion ; and when death has taken off the mask, they will know one another, though the diverse liveries they wear here make them strangers.

Great allowances are to be made for education and personal weaknesses ; but it is a rule with me, “ That man is truly religious, that loves the persuasion he is of, for the piety, rather than the ceremony, of it.”

They that have one end can hardly disagree when they meet. At least their concern in the greater, moderates their value for, and difference about, the lesser things.

It is a sad reflection, that many men have hardly any religion at all, and most men have none of their own ; for that which is the religion of their education, and not of their judgment, is the religion of another, and not theirs.



To have religion upon authority, and not upon conviction, is like a finger-watch, to be set forwards or backwards, as he that has it in keeping pleases.

It is a preposterous thing, that men can venture their souls, where they will not venture their money : for they will take their religion upon trust, but not trust a synod about the goodness of half-a-crown.

They will follow their own judgment when their money is concerned, whatever they do for their souls.

But, to be sure, that religion cannot be right, that a man is the worse for having.

No religion is better than an unnatural one.

Grace perfects, but never soures or spoils, nature.

To be unnatural in defence of grace is a contradiction.

Hardly any thing looks worse than to defend religion by ways that shew it has no credit with us.

A devout man is one thing, a stickler is quite another.

When our minds exceed their just bounds, we must needs discredit what we would recommend.

To be furious in religion, is to be irreligiously religious.

If he that is without bowels be not a man, how then can he be a Christian ?

It were better to be of no church, than to be bitter for any.

Bitterness comes very near to enmity, and that is Beelzebub, because the perfection of wickedness.

A good end cannot sanctify evil means ; nor must we ever do evil that good may come of it.

Some folk think they may scold, rail, hate, rob, and kill too, so it be but for God's sake.

But nothing in us that is unlike him can please him.

It is a great presumption to send our passions upon God's errands, as it is to palliate them with God's name.

Zeal dropt in charity, is good ; without it, good for nothing ; for it devours all it comes near.

They must first judge themselves, that presume to censure others ; and such will not be apt to overshoot the mark.

We are too ready to retaliate, rather than to forgive, or to gain by love and information.

And yet we could hurt no man that we believe loves us.

Let us, then, try what love will do : for if men

do once see we love them, we should soon find they would not harm us.

Force may subdue, but love gains; and he that forgives first, wins the laurel

If I am even with my enemy, the debt is paid; but if I forgive it, I oblige him for ever.

Love is the hardest lesson in Christianity; but for that reason, it should be most our care to learn it. “*Difficilia quæ pulchra.*”

It is a severe rebuke upon us, that God makes us so many allowances, and we make so few to our neighbour: as if charity had nothing to do with religion; or love with faith, that ought to work by it.

I find all sorts of people agree, whatsoever were their animosities, when humbled by the approach of death; then they forgive, then they pray for, and love one another: and this shews us, that it is not our reason, but our passion, that makes and holds up the feuds that reign among men in their health and fulness. They, therefore, that live nearest to that state in which they should die, must certainly live the best.

Did we believe a final reckoning and judgment, or did we think enough of what we do believe, we

should allow more love in religion than we do : since religion itself is nothing else but love to God and man.

“He that lives in love, lives in God,” says the beloved disciple : and to be sure, a man can nowhere live better.

It is most reasonable men should value that benefit which is most durable. Now tongues shall cease, and prophecy fail, and faith shall be consummated in sight, and hope in enjoyment ; but love remains.

Love is indeed heaven upon earth ; since heaven above would not be heaven without it ; for where there is not love there is fear ; but “Perfect love casts out fear.” And yet we naturally fear most to offend what we most love.

What we love, we will hear ; what we love, we will trust ; and what we love, we will serve, aye, and suffer for too. “If you love me,” says our blessed Redeemer, “keep my commandments.” Why ?—Why then, he will love us, and then we shall be his friends ; then he will send us the Comforter ; then whatever we ask, we shall receive ; and then, where he is we shall be also, and that for ever, Behold the fruits of love ; the power, virtue, benefit, and beauty of love !

Love is above all; and when it prevails in us all, we shall all be lovely, and in love with God, and one with another. Amen.

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### THE RIGHT MORALIST.

A **RIGHT** moralist is a great and good man; but, for that reason, he is rarely to be found.

There is a class of people that are fond of the character, who, in my opinion, have but little title to it.

They think it enough, not to defraud a man of his pay, or betray his friend; but never consider, that the law forbids the one at his peril, and that virtue is seldom the reason of the other.

But certainly, he that covets can no more be a moral man, than he that steals; since he does so in his mind. Nor can he be one that robs his neighbour of his credit, or that craftily undermines him of his trade or office.

If a man pays his tailor but debauches his wife, is he a current moralist?

But what shall we say of the man that rebels against his father, is an ill husband, or an abusive neighbour; one that is lavish of his time, of his

health, and of his estate, in which his family is so nearly concerned? Must he go for a right moralist because he pays his rent well?

I would ask some of those men of morals, whether he that robs God, and himself too, though he should not defraud his neighbour, be a moral man?

Do I owe myself nothing? And do I not owe all to God? And, if paying what we owe makes the moral man, is it not fit we should begin to render our dues where we owe very our beginning; aye, our all?

The complete moralist begins with God; he gives him his due, his heart, his love, his service: the bountiful giver of his well-being, as well as being.

He that lives without a sense of this dependence and obligation, cannot be a moral man, because he does not know his returns of love and obedience, as becomes an honest man, and a sensible creature: which very term implies he is not his own; and it cannot be very honest to misemploy another's goods.

But how! can there be no debt but to a fellow-creature? Or will our exactness in paying those

trifling ones, while we neglect our weightier obligations, cancel the bonds we lie under, and render us rigid and thorough moralists?

As judgments are paid before bonds, and bonds before bills or book-debts, so the moralist considers his obligations according to their several dignities.

In the first place, Him to whom he owes himself; next, himself, in his health and livelihood; lastly, his other obligations, whether rational or pecuniary: doing to others, to the extent of his ability, as he would have them do unto him.

In short, the moral man is he, who loves God above all, and his neighbour as himself: which fulfils both tables at once.

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### THE WORLD'S ABLE MAN.

It is by some thought the character of an able man to be dark and not understood. But I am sure that is not fair play.

If he be so by silence, it is better; but if by disguises, it is insincere and hateful.

Secrecy is one thing, false lights are another.

The honest man, that is rather free than open, is always to be preferred; especially when sense is at the helm.

The glorying of the other humour is in a vice ; for it is not human to be cold, dark, and unconversable. I was going to say they are like pick-pockets in a crowd, where a man must ever have his hand upon his purse ; or as spies in a garrison, that, if not prevented, betray it.

They are the reverse of human nature : and yet this is the present world's wise man and politician : excellent qualities for Lapland ! where they say witches, (though not many conjurers) dwell.

They are like highwaymen, that rarely rob without vizards, or in the same wigs and clothes, but have a dress for every enterprise.

At best he may be a cunning man, which is a sort of lurcher in politics.

He is never too hard for the wise man upon the square ; for that is out of his element, and puts him quite by his skill. Nor are wise men ever caught by him but when they trust him.

But as cold and as close as he seems, he can and will please all if he gets by it ; though it should neither please God nor himself at bottom.

He is for every cause that brings him gain ; but implacable if disappointed of success.

And what he cannot hinder, he will be sure to spoil by over-doing it.



None so zealous then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true sentiments?

For his interest he refuses no side or party; and he will take the wrong by the hand, when the other will not do, with as good a grace as the right.

Nay, he commonly chooses the worst, because that brings the best bribe; his cause being ever money.

He sails with all winds, and is never out of his way, where any thing is to be had.

A privateer, indeed, and everywhere a bird of prey.

True to nothing but himself; and false to all persons and parties, to serve his own turn.

Talk with him as often as you please, he will never pay you in good coin; for it is either false or clipped.

But to give a false reason for any thing, let my reader never learn of him, no more than to give a brass half-crown for a good one: not only because it is not true, but because it deceives the person to whom it is given; which I take to be an immorality.

Silence is much preferable; for it saves the secret, as well as the person's honour.

Such as give themselves the latitude of saying what they do not mean, come to be errant jockies at more things than one; but in religion and politics it is pernicious.

To hear two men talk the reverse of their own sentiments, with all the good breeding and appearance of friendship imaginable, on purpose to cozen or pump each other, is, to a man of virtue and honour, one of the most melancholy, as well as the most nauseous things in the world.

But that it should be the character of an able man, is to disinherit wisdom, and paint out our degeneracy to the life, by setting up fraud, an errant impostor, in her room.

The trial of skill between these two is, who shall believe least of what the other says: and he that has the weakness, or good nature, to give out first, (*viz.* to believe any thing the other says) is looked upon to be tricked.

I cannot see the policy, any more than the necessity, of a man's mind giving the lie to his mouth, or his mouth giving false alarms of his mind: for no man can be long believed, that teaches all men to

distrust him: and, since the ablest have sometimes need of credit, where lies the advantage of their politic cant or banter upon mankind?

I remember a passage of one of Queen Elizabeth's great men, as advice to his friend: "The advantage," says he, "I had upon others at court, was, that I always spoke as I thought; which being not believed by them, I both preserved a good conscience, and suffered no damage from that freedom:" which, as it shows the vice to be older than our times, so does it that gallant man's integrity to be the best way of avoiding it.

To be sure it is wise, as well as honest, neither to flatter other men's sentiments, nor dissemble, and less to contradict, our own.

To hold one's tongue, or speak truth, or talk only of indifferent things, is the fairest conversation.

Women that rarely go abroad without vizard masks, have none of the best reputation. But when we consider what all this art and disguise are for, it equally heightens the wise man's wonder and aversion: perhaps it is to betray a father, a brother, a master, a friend, a neighbour, or one's own party.

A fine conquest! one which noble Grecians and Romans abhorred: as if government could not subsist without knavery, and that knaves were the most useful props to it; though the basest as well as the greatest, perversions of the ends of it.

But that it should become a maxim shows but too grossly the corruptions of the times.

I confess I have heard the stile of "A useful knave," but ever took it to be a silly or a knavish saying; at least an excuse for knavery.

It is as reasonable to think a harlot makes the best wife, as a knave the best officer.

Besides, employing knaves encourages knavery, instead of punishing it, and alienates the reward of virtue: or, at least, must make the world believe the country yields not honest men enough, able to serve her.

Art thou a magistrate? Prefer such as have clean characters where they live; and men of estates to secure a just discharge of their trusts, that are under no temptation to strain points for a fortune: for sometimes such may be found sooner than they are employed.

Art thou a private man? Contract thy acquaintance in a narrow compass, and choose those for the

subjects of it that are men of principle ; such as will make full stops, where honour will not lead them on ; and that had rather bear the disgrace of not being thorough-paced men, than forfeit their peace and reputation by a base compliance.

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### THE WISE MAN.

THE wise man governs himself by the reason of his case, and because what he does is best : best, in a moral and prudent, not a sinister, sense.

He proposes just ends, and employs the fairest and most probable means and methods to attain them.

Though you cannot always penetrate his design, or his reasons for it, yet you shall ever see his actions of a piece, and his performance like a workman : they will bear the touch of wisdom and honour, as often as they are tried.

He scorns to serve himself by indirect means, or to be an interloper in government ; since just enterprises never want any unjust ways to succeed them.

To do evil that good may come of it, is for bunglers in politics as well as morals.

Like those surgeons that will cut off an arm they cannot cure, to hide their ignorance and save their credit.

The wise man is cautious but not cunning; judicious but not crafty; making virtue the measure of using his excellent understanding in the conduct of his life.

The wise man is equal, ready, but not officious; has in every thing an eye to a sure footing; he offends nobody; nor is easily offended; and is always willing to compound for wrongs, if not forgive them.

He is never captious, nor critical; hates banter and jests; he may be pleasant but not light; he never deals but in substantial ware, and leaves the rest for the toy-pates, (or shops) of the world; which are so far from being his business, that they are not so much as his diversion.

He is always for some solid good, civil or moral: as to make his country more virtuous, preserve her peace and liberty, employ her poor, improve land, advance trade, suppress vice, encourage industry, and all mechanic knowledge; and that they should be the care of the government, and the blessing and praise of the people.

To conclude, he is just, and fears God, hates covetousness, and eschews evil, and loves his neighbour as himself.

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## OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THOUGHTS.

MAN being made a reasonable and so a thinking creature, there is nothing more worthy of his being than the right direction and employment of his thoughts: since upon this depends both his usefulness to the public, and his own present and future benefit in all respects.

The consideration of this has often obliged me to lament the unhappiness of mankind, that, through too great a mixture and confusion of thoughts, have been hardly able to make a right or mature judgment of things.

To this is owing the various uncertainty and confusion we see in the world, and the intemperate zeal that occasions them.

To this, also, is to be attributed the imperfect knowledge we have of things, and the slow progress we make in attaining to a better: like the children of Israel, who were forty years upon their journey from Egypt to Canaan, which might have been performed in less than one.

In fine, it is to this that we ought to ascribe, if not all, at least most of the infelicities we labour under.

Clear, therefore, thy head, and rally and manage thy thoughts rightly, and thou wilt save time, and see and do thy business well: for thy judgment will be distinct, thy mind free, and thy faculties strong and regular.

Always remember to bound thy thoughts to the present occasion.

If it be thy religious duty, suffer nothing else to share in them. And if any civil or temporal affair, observe the same caution; and thou wilt be a whole man to every thing, and do twice the business in the same time.

If any point over-labour thy mind, divert and relieve it by some other subject, of a more sensible or manual nature, rather than what may affect the understanding: for this were to write one thing upon another, which blots out our former impressions, or renders them illegible.

They that are least divided in their care, always give the best account of their business.

As, therefore, thou art always to pursue the present subject till thou hast mastered it; so, if it



fall out that thou hast more affairs than one upon thy hand, be sure to prefer that which is of most moment, and will least wait thy leisure.

He that judges not well of the importance of his affairs, though he may be always busy, must make but a small progress.

But make not more business necessary than is so; and rather lessen than augment work for thyself.

Nor yet be over-eager in pursuit of any thing; for the mercurial too often happen to leave judgment behind them, and sometimes make work for repentance.

He that over-runs his business leaves it for him that follows more leisurely to take it up: which has often proved a profitable harvest to them that never sowed.

It is the advantage that slower tempers have upon the men of lively parts, that though they do not lead, they will follow well, and glean clean.

Upon the whole matter, employ thy thoughts as thy business requires, and let that have place according to merit and urgency, giving every thing a review and due digestion; and thou wilt prevent

many errors and vexations, as well as save much time to thyself in the course of thy life.

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### OF ENVY.

It is a mark of ill-nature to lessen good actions, and aggravate ill ones.

Some men do as much begrudge others a good name, as they want one themselves : and perhaps that is the reason of it.

But certainly they are in the wrong that think they are lessened, because others have their due.

Such people generally have less merit than ambition, that covet the reward of other men's ; and, to be sure, a very ill nature, that will rather rob others of their due, than allow them their praise.

It is more an error of our will than our judgment : for we know it to be an effect of our passion, not of our reason ; and we are therefore the more culpable in our partial estimates.

It is as envious as unjust, to under-rate another's actions, where their intrinsic worth recommends them to disengaged minds.

Nothing shows more the folly, as well as fraud of man, than clipping merit and reputation.

And as some men think it an alloy to themselves, that others have their right; so they know no end of pilfering, to raise their own credit.

This envy is the child of pride; and misgives rather than mistakes.

It will have charity to be ostentation; sobriety, covetousness; humility, craft; bounty, popularity. In short, virtue must be design, and religion only interest. Nay, the best of qualities must not pass without a *but* to alloy their merit, and abate their praise. Basest of tempers! and they that have it, the worst of men.

But just and noble minds rejoice in other men's success, and help to augment their praise.

And, indeed, they are not without a love to virtue, that take a satisfaction in seeing her rewarded; and such deserve to share her character, that do abhor to lessen it.

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### OF MAN'S LIFE.

WHY is man less durable than the works of his hands, but because this is not the place of his rest?

And it is a great and just reproach upon him, that he should fix his mind where he cannot stay himself.

Were it not more his wisdom to be concerned about those works that will go with him, and erect a mansion for him, where time has power neither over him nor it?

It is a sad thing for a man so often to miss his way to his best, as well as his most lasting, home.

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### OF AMBITION.

THEY that soar too high, often fall hard; which makes a low and level dwelling preferable.

The tallest trees are most in the power of the winds; and ambitious men of the blasts of fortune.

They are most seen and observed, and most envied; least quiet but most talked of, and not often to their advantage.

Those builders have need of a good foundation, who lie so much exposed to weather.

Good works are a rock that will support their credit; but ill ones, a sandy foundation, that yields to calamities.

And truly they ought to expect no pity in their fall, who, when in power, had no bowels for the unhappy.

The worst of distempers; always craving and

thirsty, restless and hated: a perfect delirium in the mind; unsufferable in success, and in disappointments most revengeful.

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### OF PRAISE OR APPLAUSE.

We are apt to love praise but not to deserve it.

But if we would deserve it, we must love virtue more than that.

As there is no passion in us sooner moved, or more deccivable; so, for that reason, there is none over which we ought to be more watchful, whether we give or receive it: for if we give it, we must be sure to mean it, and measure it too.

If we are penurious, it shows emulation; if we exceed, flattery.

Good measure belongs to good actions; more looks nauseous, as well as insincere: besides, it is persecuting the meritorious, who is out of countenance to hear what he deserves.

It is much easier for him to merit applause, than to hear of it: and he never doubts himself more, or the person that gives it, than when he hears so much of it.

But, to say true, there need not many cautions

on this hand ; since the world is rarely just enough to the deserving.

However, we cannot be too circumspect how we *receive* praise : for if we contemplate ourselves in a false glass, we are sure to be mistaken about our dues : and because we are too apt to believe what is pleasing, rather than what is true, we may be too easily swelled beyond our just proportion, by the windy compliments of men.

Make ever, therefore, allowances for what is said on such occasions ; or thou exposest, as well as deceivest, thyself.

For an over-value of ourselves, gives us but a dangerous security in many respects.

We expect more than belongs to us ; take all that is given us, though never intended for us ; and fall out with those who are not so full of us, as we are of ourselves.

In short, it is a passion that abuses our judgment, and makes us both unsafe and ridiculous.

Be not fond, therefore, of praise ; but seek virtue that leads to it.

And yet no more lessen or dissemble thy merit, than over-rate it : for though humility be a virtue, an affected one is none.

## OF CONDUCT IN SPEECH.

INQUIRE often, but judge rarely, and thou wilt not often be mistaken.

It is safer to learn than to teach; and he who conceals his opinion has nothing to answer for.

Vanity or resentment often engages us, and it is two to one that we come off losers; for one shows a want of judgment and humility, as the other does of temper and discretion.

Not that I admire the reserved; for they are next to unnatural that are not communicable. But if reservedness be at any time a virtue, it is in throngs, or ill company.

Beware also of affectation in speech: it often wrongs matter, and ever shows a blind side.

Speak properly, and in as few words as you can, but always plainly: for the end of speech is not ostentation, but to be understood.

They that affect words more than matter, will dry up what little they have.

Sense never fails to give them that have it words enough to make them understood.

But it too often happens in some conversations, as in apothecaries' shops; that those pots that are

empty, or have things of small value in them, are as gaudily dressed and flourished as those that are full of precious drugs.

This labouring of slight matter with flourished turns of expression is fulsome, and worse than the modern imitation of tapestry, and East India goods, in stuffs and linens. In short, it is but tawdry talk, and next to very trash.

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### UNION OF FRIENDS.

THEY that love beyond the world cannot be separated by it.

Death cannot kill what never dies.

Nor can spirits ever be divided, that love and live in the same divine principle, the root and record of their friendship.

If absence be not death, neither is theirs.

Death is but crossing the world, as friends do the seas; they live in one another still.

For they must needs be present, that love and live in that which is omnipresent.

In this divine glass they see face to face; and their converse is free as well as pure.

This is the comfort of friends, that though they



may be said to die, yet their friendship and society are, in the best sense, ever present, because immortal.

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### ON BEING EASY IN LIVING.

It is a happiness to be delivered from a curious mind, as well as from a dainty palate.

For it is not only a troublesome, but slavish thing to be nice.

They narrow their own freedom and comforts, that make so much requisite to enjoy them.

To be easy in living is much of the pleasure of life ; but difficult tempers will always want it.

A careless and homely breeding is therefore preferable to one nice and delicate.

And he that is taught to live upon little, owes more to his father's wisdom, than he that has a great deal left him does to his father's care.

Children cannot well be too hardily bred : for besides that it fits them to bear the roughest providences, it is more active and healthy.

Nay, it is certain, that the liberty of the mind is mightily preserved by it : for so it is served, instead

of being a servant, indeed a slave to sensual delicacies.

As nature is soon answered, so are such satisfied.

The memory of the ancients is hardly in any thing more to be celebrated than in a strict and useful institution of youth.

By labour they prevented luxury in their young people, till wisdom and philosophy had taught them to resist and despise it.

It must be, therefore, a gross fault to strive so hard for the pleasure of our bodies, and to be so insensible and careless of the freedom of our souls.

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### OF MAN'S INCONSIDERATENESS AND PARTIALITY.

It is very observable, if our civil rights are invaded or encroached upon, we are mightily touched, and fill every place with our resentment and complaint; while we suffer ourselves, our better and nobler selves, to be the property and vassals of sin, the worst of invaders.

In vain do we expect to be delivered from such troubles, till we are delivered from the cause of them, our disobedience to God.

When he has his dues from us, it will be time enough for Him to give us ours out of one another.

It is our great happiness, if we could understand it, that we meet with such checks in the career of our worldly enjoyments: lest we should forget the giver, adore the gift, and terminate our felicity here, which is not man's ultimate bliss.

Our losses are often made judgments by our guilt, and mercies by our repentance.

Besides it argues great folly in men to let their satisfaction exceed the true value of any temporal matter; for disappointments are not always to be measured by the loss of the thing, but the over-value we put upon it.

And thus men improve their own miseries, for want of an equal and just estimate of what they enjoy or lose.

There lies a proviso upon every thing in this world, and we must observe it at our own peril, viz. to love God above all, and act for judgment; the last I mean.

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#### ON THE RULE OF JUDGING.

IN all things reason should prevail: it is quite another thing to be stiff, than steady in an opinion.

This may be reasonable, but that is ever wilful.

In such cases it always happens, that the clearer the argument, the greater the obstinacy, where the design is not to be convinced.

This is to value humour more than truth, and prefer a sullen pride to a reasonable submission.

It is the glory of a man to vail to truth: as it is the mark of a good nature to be easily intreated.

Beasts act by sense, man should act by reason; else he is a greater beast than ever God made: and the proverb is verified, "The corruption of the best things is the worst and most offensive."

A reasonable opinion must ever be in danger where reason is not judge.

Though there is a regard due to education, and the tradition of our fathers, truth will ever deserve, as well as claim, the preference.

If, like Theophilus and Timothy, we have been brought up in the knowledge of the best things, it is our advantage; but neither they nor we lose by trying the truth: for so we learn their, as well its intrinsic worth.

Truth never lost ground by inquiry; because she is, most of all, reasonable.

Nor can that need another authority that is self-evident,

If my own reason be on the side of a principle, with what can I dispute or withstand it?

And if men would once consider one another reasonably, they would either reconcile their differences, or maintain them more amicably.

Let that, therefore, be the standard, that has most to say for itself: though of that let every man be judge for himself.

Reason, like the sun is common to all: it is for want of examining all by the same light and measure, that we are not all of the same mind; for all have it to that end, though all do not use it so.

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### OF FORMALITY.

FORM is good, but not formality.

In the use of the best of forms there is too much of that, I fear.

It is absolutely necessary that this distinction should go along with the people in their devotion; for too many are more apt to rest upon what they do, than how they do their duty.

If it were considered, that it is the frame of the

mind that gives our performances acceptance, we should lay more stress on our inward preparation than our outward action.

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### OF THE MEAN NOTION WE HAVE OF GOD.

NOTHING more shews the low condition man is fallen into, than the unsuitable notion we must have of God, by the ways we take to please him.

As if it availed any thing to him, that we performed so many ceremonies and external forms of devotion; who never meant more by them, than to try our obedience, and, through them, to shew us something more excellent and durable beyond them.

Doing while we are undoing is good for nothing.

Of what benefit is it to say our prayers regularly, go to church, receive the sacrament, and, may be, go to confession too; aye, feast the priest, and give alms to the poor; and yet lie, swear, curse, be drunk, covetous, unclean, proud, revengeful, vain, or idle, at the same time.

Can one excuse or balance the other? Or will God think himself well served, where his law is

violated? Or well used, where there is so much more show than substance?

It is a most dangerous error, for a man to think to excuse himself in the breach of a moral duty, by a formal performance of positive worship; and still less, when that worship is of human invention.

Our blessed Saviour most rightly and clearly distinguished and determined this case, when he told the Jews, "That they were his mother, his brethren, and sisters, who did the will of his Father."

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### OF THE BENEFIT OF JUSTICE.

JUSTICE is a great support of society, because an insurance to all men of their property: this violated, there is no security; which throws all into confusion to recover it.

An honest man is a fast pledge in dealing. A man is sure to have it, if it be to be had.

Many are so merely of necessity; others not so, only for the same reason; but such an honest man is not to be thanked; and such a dishonest man is to be pitied.

But he that is dishonest for gain is next to a robber, and to be punished, for example.

And, indeed, there are few dealers but what are faulty; which makes trade difficult, and a great temptation to men of virtue.

It is not what they should, but what they can, get: faults or decays must be concealed, big words given where they are not deserved, and the ignorance or necessity of the buyer must be imposed upon, for unjust profit.

These are the men that keep their words for their own ends; and are only just for fear of the magistrate.

A politic rather than a moral honesty; a constrained, not a chosen justice; according to the proverb, "Patience per force, and thank you for nothing."

But of all injustice, that is the greatest that passes under the name of law. A cut-purse in Westminster Hall exceeds: for that advances injustice to oppression, where law is alleged for that which it should punish.

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## OF JEALOUSY.

THE jealous are troublesome to others, but a torment to themselves.



Jealousy is a kind of civil war in the soul, where judgment and imagination are at perpetual jars.

This civil dissention in the mind, like that of the body politic, commits great disorders and lays all waste.

Nothing stands safe in its way : nature, interest, religion, must yield to its fury.

It violates contracts, dissolves society, breaks wedlock, betrays friends and neighbours : nobody is good, and every one is either doing or designing them a mischief.

It has a venom that more or less rankles wherever it bites : and as it reports fancies or facts, so it disturbs its own house, as often as other folks.

Its rise is guilt or ill-nature : and by reflection it thinks its own faults to be other men's : as he that is over-run with the jaundice takes others to be yellow.

A jealous man sees only his own spectrum when he looks upon other men, and gives his character in theirs.

## OF STATE.

I LOVE service, but not state : one is useful, the other superfluous.

The trouble of this, as well as charge, is real : but the advantage only imaginary.

Besides, it helps to set us up above ourselves, and augments our temptation to disorder.

The least thing out of joint, or omitted, makes us uneasy ; and we are ready to think ourselves ill served about that which is of no real service at all ; or so much better than other men, as we have the means of greater state.

But this is all for want of wisdom, which carries the truest and most forcible state along with it.

He that makes not himself cheap by indiscreet conversation, puts value enough on himself every where.

The other is rather pageantry than state.

## OF A GOOD SERVANT.

A TRUE and a good servant are the same thing.

But no servant is true to his master that defrauds him.

Now there are many ways of defrauding a master, as of time, care, pains, respect, and reputation, as well as money.

He that neglects his work robs his master, since he is fed and paid as if he did his best: and he that is not as diligent in the absence, as in the presence of his master, cannot be a true servant.

Nor is he a true servant, that buys dear to share in the profit with the seller.

Nor yet he that tells tales without doors; or deals basely in his master's name, with other people; or connives at others' loiterings, wastings, or dishonourable reflections.

So that a true servant is diligent, secret, and respectful: more tender of his master's honour and interest, than of his own profit.

Such a servant deserves well; and if modest under his merit, should liberally feel it at his master's hand.

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## OF AN IMMODERATE PURSUIT OF THE WORLD.

It shews a depraved state of mind, to cark and care for that which one does not need.

Some are as eager to be rich, as to live; as anxious for superfluity, as for subsistence.

But that plenty should augment covetousness, is a perversion of Providence; and yet the generality are the worse for their riches.

But it is strange, that old men should excel; for generally money lies nearest them, that are nearest their graves; as if they would augment their love, in proportion to the little time they have left to enjoy it: and yet their pleasure is without enjoyment, since none enjoy what they do not use.

So that instead of learning to leave their great wealth easily, they hold it the faster because they must leave it: so sordid is the temper of some men.

Where charity keeps pace with gain, industry is blessed: but to slave to get, and keep it sordidly, is a sin against Providence, a vice in government, and an injury to their neighbours.

Such as they, spend not one-fifth of their income; and, it may be, give not one-tenth part of what they spend to the needy.

This is the worst sort of idolatry, because there can be no religion in it, nor ignorance pleaded in excuse of it; and that it wrongs other folks, that ought to have a share therein.

OF THE INTEREST OF THE PUBLIC IN  
OUR ESTATES.

HARDLY any thing is given us for ourselves, but the public may claim a share with us. But of all we call ours, we are most accountable to God, and the public, for our estates: in this we are but stewards; and to hoard up all to ourselves, is great injustice as well as ingratitude.

If all men were so far tenants to the public, that the superfluities of gain and expence were applied to the exigencies thereof, it would put an end to taxes, leave not a beggar, and make the greatest bank for national trade in Europe.

It is a judgment upon us, as well as weakness, though we will not see it, to begin at the wrong end.

If the taxes we give are not to maintain pride, I am sure there would be less, if pride were made a tax to the government.

I confess I have wondered that so many lawful and useful things are excised by laws, and pride left to reign free over them and the public.

But, since people are more afraid of the laws of man than of God, because their punishment

seems to be nearest, I know not how magistrates can be excused in their suffering such excess with impunity.

Our noble English patriarchs, as well as patriots, were so sensible of this evil, that they made several excellent laws, commonly called sumptuary, to forbid, at least limit, the pride of the people; and, because the execution of them would be our interest and honour, their neglect must be our just reproach and loss.

It is but reasonable that the punishment of pride and excess should help to support the government; since it must otherwise inevitably be ruined by them.

But some say, "It ruins trade, and will make the poor burdensome to the public;" but if such trade, in consequence, ruins the kingdom, is it not time to ruin that trade? Is moderation no part of our duty; and is temperance an enemy to government?

He that will get money by any thing is a Judas.

To wink at a trade that effeminates the people, and invades the ancient discipline of the kingdom, is a crime capital, and to be severely punished, instead of being excused by the magistrate.

Is there no better employment for the poor than luxury? Miserable nation!

What did they, before they fell into these forbidden methods? Is there not land enough in England to cultivate, and more and better manufactures to be made?

Have we no room for them in our plantations, about things that may augment trade without luxury?

In short, let pride pay, and excess be well excised: and if that will not cure the people, it will help to keep the kingdom.

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### THE VAIN MAN.

BUT a vain man is a nauseous creature: he is so full of himself, that he has no room for any thing else, be it ever so good or deserving.

It is I, at every turn, that does this, or can do that. And as he abounds in his comparisons, so he is sure to give himself the better of every body else; according to the proverb, "All his geese are swans."

They are certainly to be pitied that can be so much mistaken at home.

And yet I have sometimes thought, that such people are, in a sort, happy, that nothing can put out of countenance with themselves, though they neither have, nor merit other people's.

But, at the same time, one would wonder they should not feel the blows they give themselves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous temper; nor shew any concern at that, which makes others blush for, as well as at them, viz. their unreasonable assurance.

To be a man's own fool is bad enough; but the vain man is every body's.

This silly disposition comes of a mixture of ignorance, confidence, and pride: and as there is more or less of the last, so it is more or less offensive, or entertaining.

And yet, perhaps, the worst part of this vanity is its unteachableness. Tell it any thing, and it has known it long ago; it outruns information and instruction, or else proudly sneers at it.

Whereas the greatest understandings doubt most, are readiest to learn, and least pleased with themselves; this, with nobody else.

For though they stand on higher ground, and so see further than their neighbours, they are yet



humbled by their prospect, since it shows them something so much higher above their reach.

And truly then it is that sense shines with the greatest beauty, when it is set in humility.

An humble able man is a jewel worth a kingdom: it is often saved by him, as Solomon's poor wise man did the city.

May we have more of them, or less need of them.

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### THE CONFORMIST.

It is reasonable to concur, where conscience does not forbid a compliance; for conformity is at least a civil virtue.

But we should only press it in necessities: the rest may prove a snare or temptation to break society.

But, above all, it is a weakness in religion and government, where it is carried to things of an indifferent nature; since, besides that it makes way for scruples, liberty is always the price of it.

Such conformists have little to boast of, and therefore the less reason to reproach others that have more latitude.

And yet the latitudinarian that I love is one that is only so in charity: for the freedom I recommend is no scepticism in judgment, and much less so in practice.

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### THE OBLIGATIONS OF GREAT MEN TO ALMIGHTY GOD.

It seems but reasonable that those whom God has distinguished from others by his goodness, should distinguish themselves to him by their gratitude.

For though he has made of one blood all nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the level, but in a sort of subordination and dependency.

If we look upwards, we find it in the heavens, where the planets have their several degrees of glory; and also the other stars, of magnitude and lustre.

If we look upon the earth, we see it among the trees of the wood, from the cedar to the bramble; among the fishes, from the leviathan to the sprat; in the air, among the birds, from the eagle to the sparrow; among the beasts, from the lion to the cat; and among mankind, from the king to the scavenger.

Our great men, doubtless, were designed, by the wise framer of the world, for our religious, moral, and politic, planets; for lights and directions to the lower ranks of the numerous company of their own kind, both in precepts and examples; and they are well paid for their pains too, who have the honour and service of their fellow creatures, and the marrow and fat of the earth for their share.

But is it not a most unaccountable folly, that men should be proud of the providences that should humble them; or think the better of themselves, instead of Him that raised them so much above the level; or of being so in their lives, in return of his extraordinary favours?

But it is too near akin to us, to think no further than ourselves, either in acquisition, or use, of our wealth and greatness: when, alas; they are the preferments of heaven, to try our wisdom, bounty, and gratitude.

It is a dangerous perversion of the end of Providence, to consume the time, power and wealth, he has given us above other men, to gratify our sordid passions, instead of playing the good stewards, to the honour of our great Benefactor, and to the good of our fellow-creatures.

But it is an injustice too; since those higher ranks of men are but the trustees of heaven, for the benefit of lesser mortals: who, as minors, are entitled to all their care and provision.

For though God has dignified some men above their brethren, it never was to serve their pleasures; but that they might take pleasure to serve the public.

For this cause, doubtless, it was that they were raised above necessity, or any trouble to live, that they might have more time and ability to care for others: and it is certain where that use is not made of the bounties of Providence, they are embezzled and wasted.

It has often struck me with a serious reflection, when I have observed the great inequality of the world; that one man should have such numbers of his fellow-creatures to wait upon him, who have souls to be saved as well as he; and this not for business but state. Certainly a poor employment of his money, and a worse of their time.

But that any one man should make work for so many, or rather keep them from work to make up a train, has a levity or luxury in it very reprobable, both in religion and government.

But even in allowable services, it has a humbling consideration, and what should raise the thankfulness of the great men to Him who has so much bettered their circumstances; and moderate the use of their dominion over those of their own kind.

When the poor Indians hear us call any of our family by the name of servants, they cry out, "What! call brethren, servants! we call our dogs servants, but never men." The moral certainly can do us no harm, but may instruct us to abate our height, and narrow our state and attendance.

And what has been said of their excess may, in some measure, be applied to other branches of luxury, that set ill examples to the lesser world, and to rob the needy of their pensions.

God Almighty touch the hearts of our grandees with a sense of his distinguishing goodness, and the true end of it; that they may better distinguish themselves in their conduct, to the glory of Him that has thus liberally preferred them, and to the benefit of their fellow-creatures.

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## OF REFINING UPON OTHER MEN'S ACTIONS OR INTERESTS.

THIS seems to be the master-piece of our politicians; but no one shoots more at random than these refiners.

A perfect lottery, and mere hazard! since the true spring of the actions of men is as invisible as their hearts; and so are their thoughts too, of their several interests.

He that judges of other men by himself, does not always hit the mark; because all men have not the same capacity, nor passions in interest.

If an able man refines upon the proceedings of an ordinary capacity, according to his own, he must ever miss it: but much more the ordinary man, when he shall pretend to speculate on the motives of the able man's actions: for the able man deceives himself, by making the other wiser than he is in the reason of his conduct; and the ordinary man makes himself so, in presuming to judge of the reasons of the able man's actions.

It is, in short, a wood, a maze; and of nothing are we more uncertain, nor in any thing do we oftener befool ourselves.

The mischiefs are many that follow this humour, and dangerous : for men misguide themselves, act upon false measures, and meet frequently with mischievous disappointments.

It excludes all confidence in commerce; allows of no such thing as a principle in practice : supposes every man to act upon other reasons than what appear; and that there is no such thing as uprightness or sincerity among mankind : a trick, instead of truth.

Neither allowing nature, or religion, but some worldly turn or advantage, to be the true, the hidden motive of all men.

It is hard to express its uncharitableness, as well as uncertainty; and has more of vanity than benefit in it.

This foolish quality gives a large field; but let what I have said serve for this time.

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## OF CHARITY.

CHARITY has various senses, but it is excellent in all of them.

It imports, first, the commisseration of the poor and unhappy of mankind, and it extends an helping hand to meet their condition.

They that feel nothing of this are, at best, not above half of kin to human race; since they must have no bowels, which makes such an essential part thereof, who have no more nature.

A man! and yet not have the feeling of the wants or needs of his own flesh and blood! a monster rather! and may he never be suffered to propagate such an unnatural stock in the world.

Such an uncharitableusness spoils the best gains! and two to one but it entails a curse upon the possessors.

Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our prayers, if we turn the deaf ear to the petition of the distressed amongst our fellow-creatures.

God sends the poor to try us, as well as he tries them by being such: and he that refuses them a little, out of the great deal that God has given him, lays up poverty in store for his own posterity.

I will not say these works are meritorious, but I dare say they are acceptable, and go not without their reward; though, to humble us in our fulness, and liberality too, we only give what is given us to give, as well as to use: for if we ourselves are not our own, less is that so with which God has intrusted us.



Next, charity makes the best construction of things and persons; and is so far from being an evil spy, a back-biter, or a detractor, that it excuses weakness, extenuates miscarriages, makes the best of every thing, forgives every body, serves all, and hopes to the end.

It moderates extremes, is always for expedients, labours to accommodate differences, and had rather suffer than revenge; and is so far from exacting the utmost farthing, that it had rather lose, than seek its own violently.

As it acts freely, so does it zealously too; but it is always to do good, for it hurts nobody.

It is a universal remedy against discord, and a holy cement for mankind.

And lastly, it is love to God and the brethren, which raises the soul above all worldly considerations; and as it gives a taste of heaven upon earth, so it is heaven, in the fulness of it, to the truly charitable here.

This is the noblest sense charity has: after which all should press, as that "more excellent way."

Nay, most excellent: for as faith, hope, and charity, were the more excellent way that the

great Apostle discovered to the Christians: (too apt to stick in outward gifts and church performances) so, of that better way, he preferred charity as the best part, because it would out-last the rest, and abide for ever.

Wherefore a man can never be a true and good Christian without charity, even in the lowest sense of it, and yet he may have that part thereof, and still be none of the Apostle's true Christian: since he tells us, "That though we should give all our goods to the poor, and want charity (in her other and higher senses) it would profit us nothing."

Nay, "Though we have all tongues, all knowledge, and even gifts of prophecy, and were preachers to others, aye, and had zeal enough to give our bodies to be burned; yet if we wanted charity, it would not avail us for salvation."

It seems it was his (and indeed ought to be our) "Unum necessarium," or the "One thing needful;" which our Saviour attributed to Mary, in preference to her sister Martha, who seems not to have wanted the lesser parts of charity.

Would to God this divine virtue were more implanted and diffused among mankind, the pretenders to Christianity especially: and we should

certainly mind piety more than controversy : and exercise love and compassion, instead of censuring and persecuting one another, in any manner whatever.







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